Libertarian Review

January-February 1977 – Vol.VI, No.1 $1.50

THE POWER ELITES

The Yankee and Cowboy War: Conspiracies from Dallas to Watergate
By Carl Oglesby

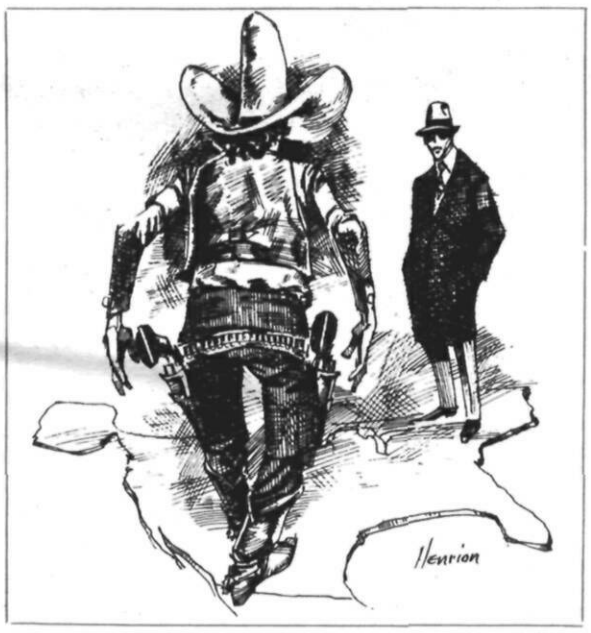
Power Shift: The Rise of the Southern Rim and Its Challenge to the Eastern Establishment
By Kirkpatrick Sale

Reviewed by Alan Fairgate / *Power Shift* / Random House, 1975 / $12.95 / *Yankee and Cowboy War* / Sheed and Ward, 1976 / $4, pb; $12, hc

For many years now, the "Yankee-Cowboy" model of conflict within the national political-economic elite has been widely discussed within American radical circles. Originally developed in the late 1960s by Carl Oglesby, a former president of Students for a Democratic Society, the model provided an extremely useful theoretical framework for analyzing the broader meaning of such prominent and traumatic political events as the abortive Bay of Pigs invasion, the John F. Kennedy assassination, Lyndon Johnson's sudden and unexpected resignation and the Watergate crisis that precipitated the downfall of Richard Nixon. Oglesby argued forcefully that the significance of these events could not be grasped by considering them in isolation. Instead, he contended that they were manifestations of a far more fundamental tension that, in one form or another, has divided the political-economic elite governing America since the earliest days of our Republic, a tension that, in recent years, has contributed to growing political instability at the national level.

Oglesby's early, fragmentary formulations of the Yankee-Cowboy model were presented in a series of articles appearing in such periodicals as the *Guardian, Ramparts,* and the Boston *Phoenix.* As a result, they did not receive wide attention among the general public, but they did capture the imagination of many radicals and libertarians who preceived the analytical insights of the model. Murray Rothbard was one of the first libertarians to recognize the importance of Oblesby's model in his "Only One Heartbeat Away," which appeared in the September 1974 *Libertarian Forum.*

The Yankee-Cowboy model identifies within the national political-economic elite two groups, or "poles," whose members hold fundamentally different world-views." The Yankees are those individuals concentrated in the old, established families of the



Northeast whose power is derived from their control of Wall Street financial firms and vast, multinational corporations. These are the people who direct the affairs of the network of interlocking institutions that comprise the "Eastern Establishment." Strongly Anglophile, the Yankees perceive the North Atlantic industrial community as the focus of their economic, political, and cultural interests. The Rockefellers, Morgans, Harrimans, and Dillons are some examples of Yankee families.

The Cowboys represent a second group within the national political-economic elite, and this group has its geographical foundations in the "Southern Rim" extending from Miami through New Orleans, Dallas, Houston, Phoenix, and Las Vegas to Los Angeles. Deriving their economic strength from such diverse "growth" sectors as petroleum, agribusiness, high-technology research and development, and defense contracting, the Cowboys have emerged as a major new power center contending for control of the national apparatus. The Cowboy members of the political-economic elite share a common cultural heritage that is largely derived from the frontier heritage of the West and that sharply distinguishes them from their Yankee associates. Unlike the Yankees, the Cowboys perceive the Pacific Basin as the focus for their essential interests and tend to be far more doctrinairely anti-Communist.

To drastically simplify a highly detailed analysis, Oglesby argues that the Kennedy assassination in 1963 represented a virtual coup d'etat within the political-economic elite, transferring leadership from the Yankee elements to the Cowboy elements represented by Johnson and Nixon. However, following growing disillusionment within the Yankee camp over the direction of the Vietnam War, the Yankee elements attempted to reassert their control within the national political-economic elite through a carefully orchestrated campaign to remove Nixon without revealing the full extent of covert activites by government agencies—in effect, a second coup d'etat.

In the past year, two books have been published that explore various aspects of the Yankee-Cowboy model in considerably greater detail than is possible here: Carl Oglesby's *The Yankee and Cowboy War* and Kirkpatrick Sale's *Power Shift.* The publication of these two books in such close succession ensures that the Yankee-Cowboy model will receive widespread public attention and should provoke a re-examination of many of the most prominent events of the past 15 years from this new perspective. For example, while Woodward and Bernstein provided us with extensive coverage of the events surrounding the Watergate crisis, in a very real sense they merely told us *what* happened; Oglesby has gone beyond this and very persuasively argued *why* it happened. Similarly, many authors have compiled evidence challenging the assumption that Lee Harvey Oswald was the

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A Word to Our Readers

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William Marina, *A Libertarian Perspective on the American Revolution,* Tape 748 (48 min), $9.95.

Murray Rothbard, *Benediction to the Libertarian Party Convention,* Tape 749 (33 min) $9.95.

•Ralph Myles Publisher, Inc. (PO Box 1533, Colorado Springs, CO 80901), specializes in keeping available classic works of revisionist history, anarcho-libertarian political philosophy, and egoist philosophy. The Ralph Myles list includes such titles as *The Will to Bondage; The Literature of Isolationism: Non-Interventionist Scholarship, 1930-1972; Men Against the State: The Expositors of Individualist Anarchism in America, 1827-1908; The Philosophy of Egoism;* and *Revisionist Viewpoints: Essays in a Dissident Historical Tradition.* Write for a catalog.

•George H. Smith, director of the Forum for Philosophical Studies (6725 Sunset Blvd., Suite 500, Los Angeles, CA 90028), is presenting "A History of Atheism and Religious Dissent," a ten-lecture series on theories and proponents of atheism, agnosticism, deism, and free-thought from the seventeenth century to the present. The series begins on Tuesday, 11 January, 7-9 P.M. It will continue at the same time each Tuesday for ten consecutive weeks at the Forum's Sunset Blvd. office. Tuition for the course is $60, payable in three installments. For more information, call George Smith or Wendy Grosscup at 213-467-1051.

•James Dale Davidson, executive director of the National Taxpayers Union and an *LR* contributor, has been voted *Playboy*'s Annual Writing Award for the best new nonfiction contribution of 1976. The award was made for his "Punch Out the IRS!" which appeared in the April *Playboy*. Congratulations, Jim!

•Liberty Bookstore (811 Castro St., Mountain View, CA 94041; phone: 415-965-1776) has an interesting catalog available in return for your address and a $.13 cent stamp ($.24 for first class). To quote from the front cover of the catalog, "You will probably never see another catalog like this one. In it, you can learn how to protect yourself from: inflation, economic collapse, food shortages, famine, gas shortages, taxes & the IRS, government controls, contaminated water, contaminated food, heart disease,

Contributors
IN THIS ISSUE

Stephen J. Chapman is on the staff of the National Taxpayers Union. He is a graduate of Harvard University, where he wrote for the *Crimson.* **Steve Eddy** is a staff writer for the *Santa Ana Register* (California). Mr. Eddy's review of *The Power of Congress* is reprinted from the *Register* with his permission. **Alan Fairgate** is a graduate student in business administration and law at a leading American university. **Richard E. Geis** is editor/publisher of the award-winning *Science Fiction Review* (PO Box 11408, Portland, OR 97221; one year, 4 issues, $4.50). **Lynne Holdom** has been a history teacher and a computer programmer. She "writes in her spare time and hopes to become a famous science fiction writer someday." Her review of *Camp of the Saints* is reprinted with permission from *Science Fiction Review.* **Gary A. Hughes** is a legislative assistant in the New York legislature and a third-year law student at Albany Law School. **Barbara Luce-Turner** is completing her studies at Southern Illinois University. **Tibor R. Machan** teaches philosophy at SUNY, Fredonia, New York, and is an *LR* associate editor. His latest book is *Introduction to Philosophical Inquiries* (Allyn and Bacon). **Neil McCaffrey**, jazz buff extraordinaire, is president of Arlington House Publishers. **Tom G. Palmer** is on the national staff of the Libertarian Party and the national director of the Young Libertarian Alliance. **Harries-Clichy Peterson, Jr.**, a "sometime libertarian activist," is a lieutenant of Marines at Coronado, California. He is a graduate of Stanford University. **Murray N. Rothbard** is Professor of Economics at the Polytechnic Institute of New York, editor of *Libertarian Forum,* and an associate editor of *Libertarian Review.* His review of *My Years with Ludwig von Mises* first appeared in *Human Events.* **E. Scott Royce** works for the National Right to Work Legal Defense Foundation and is editor/publisher of *Southern Libertarian Review.* **Carl Shapiro** has been a student of the life and works of Thomas Paine for more than a decade. He is a songwriter, freelance writer, and lecturer.■

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WAGS & SCALAWAGS

The Power of Congress (As Congress Sees It)

By Robert LeFevre (edited by R. S. Radford)

Reviewed by Steve Eddy / Pine Tree Press, 1976 / $2.95

The belief that Congressional representatives don't know what they're doing is probably held by most American taxpayers.

But Robert Lefevre, author of several major works on the philosophy of libertarianism, has set out in a newly published work to prove the notion to be literally true: that they *really don't know what they're doing.* Or what they should be doing. Or what gives them the legal or moral right to do anything in the first place.

LeFevre's 1972 correspondence with 46 members of the Senate and House has become *The Power of Congress (as Congress Sees It),* edited by R.S. Radford.

His premise is this:

A man holding public office can only be considered an agent of others. But the generally recognized concept of agency is a responsible one, requiring that the agent know and be able to identify his principals, and then act in their best interests. But a congressman can show neither legal proof nor moral evidence that anyone either appointed him as his agent or sought to get him to act in his best interests.

This is because these people are elected to Congress by a secret ballot and are thus unable to point to their principals and act "for" them in any honest way.

How, LeFevre asks, can a man claim to be honest while supposedly being able to represent both those who voted for him, as well as those who would do anything in their power to prevent him from being an agent for them?

Therefore, someone who claims to be an agent and acting for others, but who can show no legal or moral proof as to who those persons are for whom he acts, can only act on his own behalf.

In the letters to congressmen, LeFevre details this untenable moral position and asks them to resign and be content with the rights and privileges "enjoyed by everybody else."

Many readers, if not particularly interested in libertarianism (yet), will enjoy the book on the level of curiosity. They will find the "deep" philosophical and political rationales of some of their legislators fascinating and occasionally hilarious, if not downright stupid.

In his lectures, LeFevre advocates no government whatsoever, but rather the bringing about of a system of responsibile individualism based on property rights and the nature of human beings to seek profit.

He hastens to point out that the nation's lawmakers, and others in various strata of government, are not all "bad guys." Many of them, he declares, are bright people who could most likely perform honest, productive tasks in a free market.

Some, by the same token, would obviously have to become pickpockets or die of hunger within a few days.

Those of both characteristics corresponded with LeFevre. The words of some of the big names are here: Edmund Muskie, Gerald Ford, Hubert Humphrey (whom, we are told, represents all of the people of Minnesota) Mike Gravel, and Edward Brooke.

But the lesser-knowns provide the real meat of the book, and the best of its subtle humor.

Richard Hanna, then a representative from California's Orange County (where LeFevre lives), responded to LeFevre's lengthy, scholarly, logical and impassioned treatise by saying he had referred it to another congressman "who represents the district in which you reside," adding, "A long-standing tradition in Congress requires that each member have the privilege of representing his own constituents."

A New York representative, John Dow, appears to have seroiusly considered heeding LeFevre's request. Citing the works of Freud, Rosseau, and Sartre, Dow admits to the "moral ambiguity" of serving in Congress, but concludes it would also be immoral to step aside while letting someone worse than him assume the position.

And at one point, we get a first hand look at a gut level difference between conservatism and libertarianism.

Sen. James Buckley, widely regarded as a leader among so-called conservatives, says a senator cannot simply be viewed as an agent of others, but is elected to *deliberate* majorities—"to determine what is a reasonable majority and act, therefore, not in his own behalf or necessarily in behalf of an unreasonable majority but in behalf of some common good over and above the conflicting interests. . . ."

Buckley bolsters his position with the words of Thomas Jefferson: "The will of the majority is in all cases to prevail, but that will, to be rightful, must be reasonable."

To this, LeFevre responds that the will of a majority might well be wrongful, but that Buckley and others have grabbed for the power to use their own personal scale of values to determine that which is "the common good."

Such an authoritarian approach as the one outlined by Buckley is one reason libertarian ranks include so many ex-conservatives.

The crux of LeFevre's idea is that there is nothing wrong with representation per se; that is, if it is based on mutual trust, consent, and responsibility.

But, he maintains, we have instead a secretly appointed elite conclave made up of men who believe they can be "right" while doing whatever they please with the lives, liberties, and properties of others.

And they say they justifiably derive this monarchical authority from a "Constitution" drafted in the name of "We the People," but which was in fact never signed, approved, or even seen by anyone, save a few men who saw it as a mechanism through which to gain power.

One cannot fail to be awed by LeFevre's lightning logic and uncanny ability to remain calm and mannerly in the face of kingly put-downs.

For the dedicated student of liberty, LeFevre's congressional correspondence—like the pioneering work of Lysander Spooner a century ago—can only serve to recharge and uplift. ■

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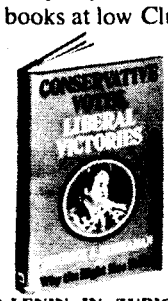

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BIOGRAPHY

My Years with Ludwig von Mises

By Margit von Mises

Reviewed by Murray N. Rothbard / Arlington House, 1976 / $9.95 (illustrated)

For those who are passionately concerned with ideas, and especially those engaged in a lifelong struggle for freedom, the opportunity is all too rare to step back for a moment and consider the *persons* who are our mentors and guides. This is particularly true of Ludwig von Mises, one of the great minds of this century and the outstanding champion of human freedom of our age.

In this charming and poignant memoir of their life together, his devoted widow, Margit, points out that when Mises died in October 1973, none of the articles and memorials about him dealt with Mises the person. In her preface, she explains why, and why she wrote this book:

> My husband was a very reserved person. While he was kind and friendly to all, he was extremely self-restrained and uncommunicative about his own life and affairs. He never talked about himself or his family. His work, his writings belonged to the world. His feelings belonged to me. I have reason to believe that I am the only person who really knew him.
>
> That is why I have written this book. The desire to bring him closer to his admirers and to the many students who loved him and stood in awe of his genius eventually grew so strong within me that it became almost an obsession. By telling the story of our life together, I shall try to reveal Ludwig von Mises as he really was: a great thinker, a great scholar, a great teacher—but still a lonely man with a great need for love and affection.

The awe and the love I can testify to. For those of us who were honored and privileged to be students and friends of Ludwig von Mises, the idea of any sort of emotional intimacy with this man whom we loved and revered was simply not thinkable.

Mises was a man of great charm, sweetness, and benevolence—far different from the doughty fighter one might expect from his writings—but he also possessed the grace, courtliness and inner reserve which was a product of an older and nobler age. But this was not a disappointment to us; quite the contrary. In our bumptious world of Instant Intimacy it was an honor to know a man for whom privacy and emotional restraint were an essential part of his being.

In this enthralling and moving memoir, Margit von Mises has gracefully succeeded in the delicate task of revealing to us Mises the man without presuming to strip away his cherished sense of privacy. (Would that other memoirs would do the same!)

As the details of their life together accumulate, the reader becomes gripped and moved by the book. Who would have thought that a volume like this is one that "one cannot put down"? And yet, Margit has accomplished this feat.

Above all, this book is a lovely valentine, a love story of Ludwig and Margit's life together. It is a touching and tender love story, a romance in the best sense of the term. No longer need we think sadly of Ludwig von Mises' life as merely a lonely and supremely courageous struggle on the part of a great man whose ideas and contributions were neglected and demeaned by a hostile and uncomprehending world, who was deprived of the high honors which academia and the world of scholarship have heaped upon him.

For now we know that Mises' life was enriched and made happy by his great and abiding love. All of us who love and admire Ludwig von Mises are in Margit's debt—both for her existence and for this book which tells us the Mises story. It is a book for all of us to read and cherish.

And yet . . . I am reluctant to bring up any unpleasant considerations in a discussion of a book of such grace and tenderness. But his book has brought alive even more than before the shabbiness, the malice, with which Mises was treated by an intellectual world which should have given him all the honor and prestige of which it is capable.

In what I found a particularly moving passage of the book, Margit writes of the time, early in his life in America, when Mises visited a friend of his (Winfield W. Riefler), who had a position with the presitgious Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton, where scholars can devote themselves to full-time scholarship and high intellectual companionship. She writes:

> I remember Lu [Mises] once told me that Riefler's job was the only position that really would have made him happy. . . . It was unusual for Lu to express a longing for something out of his reach. It was more revealing to me than any other remark he might have made. . . . When I told Fritz Machlup [one of Mises' students in Vienna]— much, much later—about Lu's wish, he replied, "And he would have been the right man at the right place." Why did no one ever think of it?

Why, indeed? In her sweet way, Margit expresses gratitude to New York University for giving Mises the opportunity to teach. But I must confess that

when I consider that NYU paid Mises the munificent sum of $2000 a year as a part-time instructor, that they only allowed Mises to teach full-time as a visiting professor for many years because his entire salary was paid by the William Volker Fund and other business admirers, that the adminstration of NYU tried to discourage students from attending Mises' classes, many emotions fill my heart, but gratitude is not one of them.

To think that at a time when every fifth-rate socialist refugee received well-paying and prestigious posts in academia that a man like Mises could only spend his years at a third-rate business school in a subsidized post! This is a blot on American academia that can never be forgiven or forgotten.

I am grateful and happy that Ludwig and Margit were able to live their lives in America without bitterness, that Mises could spend his most productive and fruitful years happily even under such contemptible treatment. But I cannot succeed in looking at that treatment with the same grace and equanimity.

It is sad that Ludwig von Mises could not have lived to see the present resurgence of his "Austrain economics" teachings, to see a world where a glittering array of younger economists have become "Misesians," where scholarly institutes, foundations, conferences and seminars are expounding his teachings, where Misesian books are beginning to pour forth from the presses.

But we can console ourselves a little at the thought that the immortal Ludwig von Mises lives on, in the hearts of those who loved him, and in his teachings that are finding an ever-expanding influence. And now Margit von Mises' memoir will play a vital part in the immortalizing of her noble husband.

Oglesby/Sale—*(Continued from page 1)*

lone assassin of John F. Kennedy, but Oglesby has situated this evidence within an analytical framework that highlights the significance of the Kennedy assassination during a period of increasing tension within the political-economic elite. Earlier researchers concentrated on establishing that a conspiracy *did* exist; Oglesby provides a compelling explanation of the forces that gave rise to the conspiracy.

Sale's *Power Shift* offers a somewhat different perspective on the Yankee-Cowboy model, and its most valuable contribution is a detailed discussion of the "six basic pillars of the cowboy economy: agribusiness, defense, advanced technology, oil and natural gas production, real estate and construction and tourism and leisure." However, Sale's analysis is seriously flawed by the tendency to present the reader with a false dualism involving and either-or choice between two undifferentiated regions: the Northeast v. the Southern Rim. Moreover, Sale displays a a pronounced bias in favor of the Northeast, leaving the reader with little doubt as to which protagonist he favors in the epic encounter between these two regions.

By persistently focusing on the role of political-economic elites, Oglesby manages to avoid much of Sale's regionalist bias, and he calls upon the reader "to turn against Yankee and Cowboy elites equally." Oglesby, far more than Sale, appreciates that the Yankee-Cowboy model represents an attempt to analyze tensions *within* the national political-economic elite and that the vast majority of the American people in both regions of the country are essentially victims of a power struggle which few of them fully understand. This is an extremely important distinction from the viewpoint of political strategy, since if Sale's regionalist perspective is adopted one would be tempted to write off the population of an entire region as morally bankrupt. On the other hand, Oglesby carefully distinguishes between the activities of the political-econoimic elites and the rest of the population, thereby appealing to constituencies in all regions to unite in rejecting the parasitic expansion of power favored by both Yankees and Cowboys.

As I have already indicated, a major portion of Oglesby's *Yankee and Cowboy War* is devoted to a detailed analysis of two political events: the assassination of John F. Kennedy and the Watergate crisis. Oglesby regards the Kennedy assassination as particularly significant, and he contends that, by politicizing this issue and demanding a reopening of the investigation into the assassination, a popular movement could be mobilized that may succeed in exposing at least one dimension of the rivalry between the Yankees and Cowboys.

It is unfortunate that Oblesby has only written one book, since he could have written at least two very valuable books on the Yankee-Cowboy model. The one that he did write clearly demonstrates the value of the model in interpreting the confusing and occasionally even chaotic events that have dominated the political scene over the past 15 years. By skillfully weaving historical detail and theoretical analysis into a coherent and compelling interpretation of two of the most dramatic events of this period, Oglesby establishes a persuasive case for the validity of his model.

The book that Oglesby did not write would have provided the reader with a more detailed and systematic elaboration of the Yankee-Cowboy model itself, tracing the origins of both elite groups, examining their early evolution and analyzing the full scope of the conflict that continues to separate them. Such a book might be characterized as an essay in historical sociology ,studying the institutional framework within which members of both groups are socialized into their roles, accumulate wealth and exercise power.

Unfortunately, despite a number of important insights into the foundations of the Yankee-Cowboy conflict, Sale's *Power Shift* does not satisfy this need for a second book. By presenting a regionalist variant of the Yankee-Cowboy model, Sale instead has departed significantly from Oglesby's original insights in a direction that threatens to weaken the radical content of the model. As a result, that second book remains to be written, hopefully by Oglesby himself, or, if not, at least by someone who will build upon the foundations that Oglesby has laid.■

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A Civil Tongue

GOBBLEDYSPEAK

By Edwin Newman

Reviewed by Stephen J. Chapman / Bobbs-Merrill, 1976 / $8.95

Edwin Newman is a highly serious man when he is on television as a reporter—he has one of the deadest pans in the business—but in print he is usually very funny. There are several passages in *A Civil Tongue* that will provoke most readers to laugh out loud, something rare in contemporary American writing, particularly journalism. Newman has a whimsical, original wit and an almost unerring eye for the absurd, especially in language. *A Civil Tongue* should be a very entertaining book. It isn't.

It is nonetheless an educational book, aimed at exposing the bad state of the English language, principally as spoken by Americans. To those who care, it is clear that English suffers from writing and speaking that are stilted, wordy, pompous, vague, and filled with jargon, but Newman shows that the abuse is much worse than anyone suspected. The book is essentially a collection of atrocities strung together by Newman's wisecracks.

Orwell wrote thirty years ago, in his "Politics and English Language," that as a rule, "political writing is bad writing." That remains true, but political speaking is even worse. One hopes it was momentary confusion or nervousness or fatigue that caused Nelson Rockefeller to say, when asked if he might be nominated for vice president at the 1976 Republican convention, "I cannot conceive of any scenario in which that might eventuate." Likewise for Jerry Brown, who explained his celebrated "asceticism" by saying, "I cannot relate to that material possessory consciousness." Surely they never would have sat down and written that kind of pretentous nonsense. There is no such excuse for the people who wrote a Winston-Salem, North Carolina, budget proposal, requesting money for "effective confinement and extinguishment of unwanted and destructive fires." Here Newman inserts a typical comments: "Firemen unable to achieve distinguishment between unwanted and destructive fires and the wanted and constructive kind are destined to suffer languishment in the lower grades."

> **"... bad language, like polluted air, is everywhere and is quickly becoming inescapable ...."**

One expects such talk from people in government, who often as not have good reason to obscure what they are doing by kicking up a lot of verbal dirt and debris. What is one to think, though, of a college dean who speaks of "conceptualizing new thrusts in programming" ("Beware the conceptualized thrust," says Newman. "I saw one that had gone berserk and it took six strong men to hold it down")? Or the university president who, when faced with a $56,000 deficit, promised, "We will divert the force of this fiscal stress into leverage energy to pry improved budgetary prediction and control out of our fiscal and administrative procedures." Or the sociologist at the University of Southern California who blithely described murder and assault as "escalated interpersonal altercations"? If our best educated people speak gibberish, whom can we turn to for salvation?

To journalists, perhaps, to those people whose livelihood is their skill with words? Not a chance. The *Washington Post* described a particular race horse as "uniquely one of a kind." The *New York Times* has mentioned bills in Congress that "successfully withstand attacks" ("in spite of earlier impressions," says Newman, "that they would unsuccessfully withstand them"). Once in a while, sanity intrudes: when the Associated Press began a story, "A Senate Appropriations Committee has acted to ensure that former President Richard Nixon is not provided household servants at government expense," UPI covered the same incident with the lead sentence, "The chairman of a Senate subcommittee says the government shouldn't pay for shining Richard Nixon's shoes." Such examples are rare.

Newman's point is that bad language, like polluted air, is everywhere and is quickly becoming inescapable, a point he illustrates painstakingly and often quite amusingly. What he fails to do is put it all in a coherent framework that explains why English is so widely degraded, or what can be done about it, or even why it is bad that people speak and write so unclearly. *A Civil Tongue* ends up as little more than a handbook of ways to misuse the English language, with no logical organization or clear purpose. One could read the book's chapters in reverse order and hardly know the difference; in fact one can get nearly as much out of any one chapter as out of the entire book. Newman is funny in short sittings but tedious and repetitive in long ones.

Newman's book is valuable, if only for steering one clear of countless common errors. But he leaves the reader longing for Orwell's lucid insights, such as his observation that "one ought to recognize that the present political chaos is connected with the decay of language, and that one can probably bring about some improvement by starting at the verbal end. If you simplify your English, you are freed from the worst follies of orthodoxy. You cannot speak any of the necessary dialects, and when you make a stupid remark, its stupidity will be obvious, even to yourself." Language is too important for one to be content with simply making fun of those who use it badly. And no one should know that better than Edwin Newman.■

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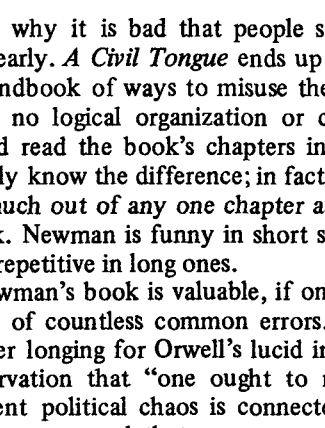

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Self-esteem and the art of being®

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Prohibiting Rattlesnakes and Strychnine

By Gary A. Hughes

The courts, when dealing with cases involving religious freedom issues, almost always cite approvingly the adage that the First Amendment erects a wall of separation between church and state.* This is legal shorthand for saying the state has one domain, religion another, and never the twain shall meet.

But this wall has not proven to be one of solid stone; from time to time breaches have appeared. One such can be called the "restriction-on-action" breach. This found expression in the opinion of the United States Supreme Court in *Reynolds* v. *United States,* a case involving a Mormon who was being prosecuted for violation of the federal law proscribing bigamy. His defense was the First Amendment's guarantee of religious freedom; it was, he claimed, a dictate of his religion to take more than one wife whenever possible. As the court noted in its opinion, the Mormon church taught its male members "that the failing or refusing to practice polygamy by [the] male members of [the] Church, when circumstances would admit, would be punished, and that the penalty for such failure and refusal would be damnation in the life to come." But much to Reynolds' surprise, the wall was found not to be as impenetrable as he had assumed. The court decided that while the First Amendment guarantees one an absolute right to believe, it allows the state to restrict translation of those beliefs into practices. Actions which offend against societal wealfare, safety, or morals cannot be permitted, said the Court, even if they spring from valid religious belief. In this case, polygamy not only offended against societal morals, it was criminally proscribed. Thus, the wall is solid when mere belief is involved, but when action is at issue, the wall is much like Swiss cheese: solid with occasional holes, which allow the state to intervene in some instances.

One would assume that if any aspect of religion is protected from state interference, it is the content of the ceremonial practices of a sect, unconventional as they may be. Ceremony is a major expression of a religion's tenets; a finding that the state possesses the power to interfere in this area would pose a grave threat to religious freedom. In a recent case, the Supreme Court of Tennessee made such a finding: invoking the *Reynolds* restriction-on-action doctrine, the court allowed the state of Tennessee to prohibit a sect from using certain unconventional practices in its worship service.

The case, *State ex rel Swann* v. *Pack,* concerns two practices of the Holiness Church of God in Jesus' Name—the handling of live rattlesnakes by some members and the drinking of strychnine by others during the worship service. Both practices were engaged in, according to one of the defendant members of the sect, to "confirm the Word of God," not as a test of the member's faith. The snakes were handled only by those who believed the "Spirit" was with them at the time, and, as stipulated at the trial level, in such a way that no nonconsenting person was endangered.

The local district attorney discovered these practices and brought suit to have them declared a public nuisance and halted. The trial court shared somewhat the district attorney's concern, granting an injunction against further snake-handling within the county. However, the court allowed "any person who wishes to swallow strychnine or other poison [to] do so if he does not make it available to any other persons." On appeal, the Tennessee Court of Appeals manifested less sympathy for the district attorney's position. The judges there found the lower court's injunction to be overbroad and modified it to forbid snake-handling only if done "in such a manner as will endanger the life or health of persons who do not consent to exposure to such danger." The lower court's allowance of strychnine drinking was continued.

In the Tennessee Supreme Court, the district attorney found judges as horrified as he by the practices at issue. The court, citing *Reynolds,* applied the restriction-on-action doctrine, and cited other cases illustrating the number of holes that have rent the wall of church-state separation over the years since *Reynolds.* The state "has the right to guard against the unnecessary creation of widows and orphans" thundered the court, and it proceeded to order a halt to both practices.

While the practices enjoined here may not be appealing, the question posed by the court's action is of the gravest import. The state here is found to have the power to dictate what is or is not acceptable in a worship service. Even if one agrees with the result in this particular case, the paramount question is: To what extent could the ruling be expanded in the future? It may be only a small step from state prohibition of certain activities to state prohibition of certain prayers or songs or perhaps even meetings themselves. For instance, suppose the government turned more openly repressive and churches requested their congregations to fast until we were delivered from the tyrants. In such an event, could the church meetings themselves be banned as *per se* a public nuisance? Judges often write of the necessity of keeping the metaphorical door that separates individual liberties from governmental interference tightly closed against government entry, for once that door is left the slightest bit ajar, government intrusion into personal liberties inevitably results. This metaphor has been used innumerable times in cases dealing with First Amendment freedoms. No one knows what future governments may be like (indeed, who foresaw the character of the Nixon Administration?) or what future conditions may seem to require. Therefore, it is best at all times to keep sight of the underlying principle involved, and allow the occasional offensive act if to arrest it would damage that principle. Cases dealing with freedom of the press often recite that sometimes the "bad" must be allowed to insure the "good" is not suppressed. Such a philosophy should also be applied in cases involving freedom of religion.

To show proper respect for the wall of separation, the Tennessee Supreme Court should have told the district attorney to leave the sect alone. The state cannot tell a religious sect what it can or cannot do during its worship service and still comply with the mandate of the First Amendment's religion clauses.

The best and constitutionally correct decision would have been for the court to say: This is an area in which the state has no power to intervene. Everyone attends the worship service voluntarily; no one attends or remains under compulsion. The practices at issue are apparently(for the record does not appear to be clear on this) conducted in such a way that those persons not participating are placed in no danger. In a system of government whose original theoretic justification was the necessity of protecting the individual from the depredations of others, there is here no need for the state to interfere, for in this situation no one is threatened by another.

To appreciate the correctness of this position, one must recall John Locke's explanation of the origin of government. Locke's theory, of course, as set forth in his *Two Treatises of Government,* provided the philosphical foundation of the American system of government, and thus provides an explanation of the nature of the powers of that government.

> **"The state has now been found to possess the power to completely prohibit the use of certain practices in religious worship services . . . ."**

According to Locke, people in the state of nature collectively own the tangible commodities we commonly call property. By the use of his or her labor, a person severs a portion of that property from the commonly owned stock, thus making it his or her own. Since such alienation is the result of individual effort, those capable of greater effort (due to physical strength, size of family, or other factors) amass a greater amount of property than others. As a response to such inequality, those who have less attack those who have more.

Thus, wrote Locke, the "great and chief end . . . of Mens [*sic*] uniting into Comonwealths, and putting themselves under Government, is the preservation of their Property." Each person agreeing to the formation of the government cedes to it his or her natural right to retaliate against an attacker. The government is thus created to protect the individual against the aggressions of *others.* And as the government has only those powers it receives from its people, as Peter Laslett has observed, "its [Locke's government's] power is given for attaining an end and is thus limited to it." Its power to intervene is thus limited to those situations where an individual is threatened or injured by another individual. Where there is no threat to an individual from another, the government has no power to intervene.

But reality often does not mirror theory. In the present case, reality dictated that the state think it should intervene. This illusion stems from the state's long-standing assertion—having no legitimate theoretical foundation—that it can intervene to protect people not only from others, but from themselves. This philosophy is reflected in numerous laws, most notably those penalizing alcoholic intoxication, consensual "deviant" sex practices, and drug possession. As noted earlier, the state founded on Lockean philosophy cannot legitimately make such a claim—but it has, time and time again. And the courts, equally mistaken, have accepted the claim with depressing regularity.

Recognizing that reality rather than theory controls, what would be the best resolution of the issues presented in this case? When dealing with fundamental rights such as freedom of religion, the courts frequently invoke the "least-onerous-alternative" doctrine. This is legalese for saying that if the state believes it must infringe upon a fundamental right, it must restrict the extent of the infringement to that absolutely necessary to accomplish its purpose. In cases such as this, it means the state must breach the wall only to the extent absolutely necessary to accomplish its task, and no further, for small holes do less damage to the integrity of the wall than large ones.

In this context, the Court of Appeals opinion is preferable to that of Tennessee's highest court. The latter court employs a bludgeon approach. Believing nonparticipants might be or were endangered, the court issued a blanket prohibition against the activities at issue. This insured the cessation of any danger. But it also, as the court itself noted, deprived the church of its theological heart. The former court utilizes a more surgical approach, tailoring its directive to protect the the nonparticipants, but leaving the religious freedom of the sect substantially intact. Of the two approaches, this clearly embodies the "least onerous alternative." As the "spectators" were apparently already protected in practice, the Court of Appeals opinion in reality gives approval to the church's activities. Only a tiny burden is placed on the sect: members are prohibited from taking their snakes among the nonparticipants and cannot make strychnine available to others. But given the nature of reality, as mentioned earlier, such a burden represents the least that could have been fashioned. The decision represents a breach in the wall, but only a very small one.

As a consequence of the decision of the Tennessee Supreme Court, another gaping hole has rent the church-state wall of the First Amendment. The state has now been found to possess the power to completely prohibit the use of certain practices in religious worship services, even though they pose no realistic threat to anyone other than those who freely engage in them. We must all be vigilant to see that the state shows restraint in the use of this power so that the integrity of is weakened no further, for the passions of the future, like the natural elements, are capable of eroding even the strongest safeguards, especially when they have been already weakened by a breach of large proportions. The Supreme Court of Tennessee may well have opened Pandora's box.■

Libertarian Review

**Throughout this essay the terms "state," "the state," and "government" will be used interchangeably to mean the political institutions of a polity generally.*

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PSYCHOLOGY

Identity and Intimacy

By William Kilpatrick

Reviewed by Harries-Clichy Peterson, Jr. / Dell, 1975 / $3.25 pb

"The present era has been variously described as the age of liberation, the age of transformation, even the age of a new consciousness. At some future date, however, we may look back and discover that it was, in reality, the age during which we lost our identity, and with it our ability to love."

So begins William Kilpatrick, professor of psychology at Boston College. in what will no doubt be received as a throwback Victorian plea for values currently considered obsolete and primordial: love, fidelity, commitment. Kilpatrick, in his *Identity and Intimacy,* writes about the psychology of love as involvement and commitment, and holds this up as a positive value, distinct and more productive to the self than the glorified fluidity of Alvin Toffler, the meaningless antiphilosophical waverings of the human potential movement and the rampant anti-individualism of McLuhan and Norman O. Brown.

Kilpatrick's book is a careful and penetrating study of what love is, and what it is not. His analysis is reminiscent of the insight found in Ortega y Gassett's *On Love* (without the dry pedantry) and in C.S. Lewis's *Four Loves* (without the Christian perspective). But offering us more than a compassionate analysis of what love is, Kilpatrick goes on to point out that love is also of crucial importance in the development of our identity.

> "...a careful and penetrating study of what love is, and what it is not."

For the rational man or woman who believes that identity (our very depth of being, our total self) is built on choices and commitments, and that the self develops through dedication to causes, to passions, to others, this book is a very warm experience. Murray Rothbard wrote that a lifelong dedication to liberty can only be grounded on a passion for justice and the passionate embrace of ethical principles of what justice and injustice are; as William Lloyd Garrison wrote: "I have need to be on fire, for I have mountains of ice about me to melt." And so Kilpatrick states his case for embracing love and commitment.

His case is profound but uncomplicated. He writes, as did Ortega, that love is essentially a matter of choice. This is enriched and broadened by adding, from Kierkegaard, that love is not a feeling but an act of will, a chosen duty to which we freely commit ourselves.

This idea of love as a chosen duty (even if freely chosen) is incompatible with the fluid self that makes no rational decisions but slides through life, uncontrolled, guided by emotions grounded in nothing but whim. One reason this view of love as choice and duty is rejected is that in being choice, love not only requires some actions, but proscribes other actions, and thus limits our range of involvement—and this is not desired by the Easy Riders of our age. Kilpatrick notes, however, that a full development of identity can only come through the intensity of involvement. We must make choices to define our self, to create identity. Yet choice is worthwhile only if we are willing to involve ourselves intimately in that choice; intimacy involves, paradoxically, a relaxation of identity to assert itself. The proposition, strength through relaxation, is a risky one, for there is a potential for loss. Yet, as in economics, this must hold true in our psychology of self-esteem; it is only by taking risks that profits are made.

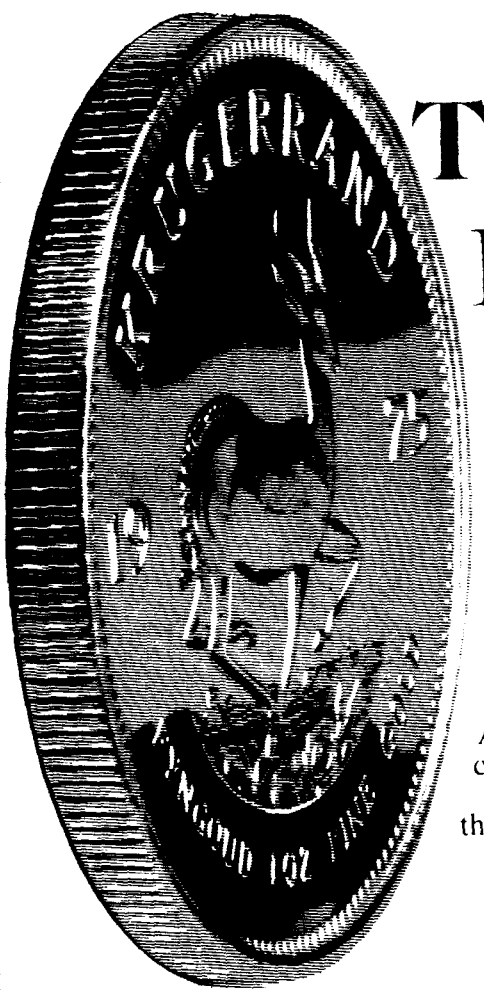
Kilpatrick has given us a powerful statement that should motivate us, through his persuasions, to attempt to define ourselves through a concurrent strengthening of identity through intimacy in its most grand form: accepting love as a serious, freely willed dedication to commitment. His statement is extremely well written, even graceful. His rich insight, all of it free of any jargon, is purposefully and well illustrated with myriad of examples from psychology, from popular culture, from literature. His book's result: the strong motivation to commit oneself to something.

What Kilpatrick does not do is give us any understanding of *why* we chose any given cause, passion, or person over any other. It is here that Nathaniel Branden's chapters on romantic love from his *Psychology of Self-Esteem* come to mind.

Couple Branden's criteria for choice and Kilpatrick's rationale for making choice more permanent than temporary. In that marriage we have a very powerful, cohesive, and inspiring foundation for building a rational and sound psychology of love. The foundation is a coherent statement that liberates the self from the delusions of uncommitted fluidity in a transient age of future shock and group grope. And even more rewarding, it is an insight that helps us discover the power and intense reward (happiness) found in a freely willed, rationally chosen, commited true love.

The value of the two books is not just intellectual; if the writings are taken to heart as well as mind, the resulting value is one of intense personal gratification.

And considering that love has been a source of just as much pain as pleasure in the world, anything that opens our eyes to understand, perceive, and capture love as a healthy and wonderful aspect of life is certainly more than worthwhile. ■



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Cut Local Taxes
—Without Reducing Essential Services
By Robert Poole, Jr.

Reviewed by Tom G. Palmer / Reason Press, 1976 / $2

Probably one of the worst sets of ideas to emanate from a libertarian movement spokesman in recent years is Robert Poole's *Cut Local Taxes.* I am sorry to report that I found not a single redeeming point in all 46 pages.

What I had hoped to find was a manual on how to organize in opposition to local taxes: supporting bona fide antitax candidates, running referendum campaigns to defeat bond issues and tax increases, and the like, utilizing the libertarian argument that services that have been usurped by government could best be provided on the free market. Instead, what I found was a handbook for bureaucrats detailing how state functions can be run more efficiently by utilizing "businesslike" methods. Rather than call for privitization of municipal services, Poole simply offers a number of cost-saving gimmicks to aid politicians in running state enterprises. All of this is advocated, of course, in the mistaken belief that if one can convince a bureaucrat or politician to cut costs, he will automatically cut taxes proportionally.

This claim is simply not borne out by the facts. Government expenditure rises to meet tax revenues. And the level of taxation is determined by how much the government can get away with. As an example, I take up the case of Orange County, California. Huntington Beach and other Orange County cities are constantly trotted out by Poole to demonstrate cost-cutting methods which have "saved the taxpayers millions of dollars." Yet local taxes have skyrocketed recently, such that families have been forced to move from the area, being unable to afford the rising tax burden. These "savings" were not "passed on" to the taxpayer. What such areas need, rather than more of Mr. Poole's cost cutting, is a vocal and organized antitax movement. (This is a void that could be filled by the local Libertarian Party.)

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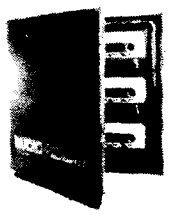

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AUDIO-FORUM

> "Probably one of the worst sets of ideas to emanate from a libertarian movement spokesman in recent years . . . ."

Cut Local Taxes is divided into seven parts. The first six deal with ways to cut costs in fire departments, police departments, public schools, garbage collection, parks and utilities, and administration. None of these chapters calls for privitization of services. Instead, state grants of monopoly to "private" firms are supposed to be the answer. In fact, in the section on trash collection Poole openly endorses grants of monopoly over free market competition! (If you find this hard to believe from the editor of *Reason* magazine, join the crowd.) The bulk of the chapters is spent on technical details concerning the proper diameter of fire hoses, optimal classroom size, and the like. No mention is made of allowing free competition to decide these issues. The last section, "Fight City Hall—And Win," was where I had hoped, after plowing through the first six sections, to find a few gems of strategy tucked away. Yet, Poole only urges tax organizers to spend their energies pushing his technical "improvements" in service and not organizing for defeat or repeal of taxes. The bulk of this chapter is filled with common-sense, yet monotonous, discussion of how to set up an organization. I ask, for what?

Finally, it seems the whole issues boils down to Poole's lack of understanding of the nature of the State. He seems to agree with Jerry Brown and the "New Democrats" that government is bumbling and inefficient, a benevolent idiot, that is, nevertheless, us. "We" are the government. "They" really represent "our" interests.

I would propose as a more realistic view that propounded by H. L. Mencken and Albert Jay Nock. Government, to Mencken, was "the common enemy of all well-disposed, industrious and decent men." Or, as Nock pointed out, "taking the State wherever found, striking into its history at any point, one sees no way to differentiate the activities of its founders, administrators, and beneficiaries from those of a professional criminal class."

What is needed to fight such an enemy is not to provide it with efficiency studies and tips on consolidating control, but to wrest from it those areas of human action that it has claimed for its own. ■

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Personalities

Thomas Paine: A Soldier for All Seasons

By Carl Shapiro

Without a doubt one of the most extraordinary and controversial figures of the late eighteenth century was Thomas Paine. Patriot, statesman, humanitarian, freethought philosopher, and libertarian scribe in both the American and French revolutions, Paine's services to liberty and democracy, however inestimable, were either undermined or largely ignored for almost a century after his death in 1809. The stock answer to that unjust treatment of such a good and high-minded soul has always been that Paine's fearless expose of organized religion as "human inventions set up to terrify and enslave mankind, and to monopolize power and profit," in his *Age of Reason,* turned the Judeo-Christian world against him. That is true, for the most part, with (or without) adding to his vilification Paine's bitterly sarcastic letter in 1795 to Washington (an old friend), damning the president for disregarding the writer's plight in a French prison.

There were, nevertheless, several scattered and good-natured attempts to extricate Paine. Late in the nineteenth century the illustrious lawyer, agnostic, and libertarian orator, Robert G. Ingersoll, said, among many other uplifitng accolades, "Thomas Paine, an Infidel, did more for this country than any other man who ever lived in it." In 1892, Dr. Moncure D. Conway, a Unitarian minister, published his sensitive and scholarly two-volume *Life of Thomas Paine.* Previously, during Paine's lifetime, there had been much praise of him by famous American and European figures, most of which was suppressed until Dr. Conway enlightened an ungrateful world.

To illuminate Paine's importance to the establishment of free government, we have only to briefly survey three of his most important and effective works.

For example, early in 1776, Paine wrote *Common Sense,* the dynamic pamphlet that convinced America once and for all of the necessity of independence, and which directly influenced the drafting of the Declaration of Independence. It was one thing to present rational arguments in favor of separation, but it was yet another to enrich them with vigor, clarity, and penetrating energy that the average citizen could understand. *Common Sense* was not the product of a formally educated political writer, but the blunt logic of an ingenious, self-motivated enthusiast. An English-born commoner—in America less than two years—fired the imaginations of thousands with, as Washington put it, "sound and unanswerable" arguments. It is of little wonder that independence was demanded when the colonists read: "The cause of America is in great measure the cause of all mankind . . . . Tis not the concern of a day, a year, or an age; posterity are virtually involved in the contest . . . . It is the true interest of America to steer clear of European contentions, which she never can do, while, by her dependence on Britain, she is made the make-weight in the scale of British politics." Appealing to the hearts and emotions of the worker, the farmer, and the craftsman who clung to the notion that the king sympathized with the lowly laborer, Paine showed that a monarch, by *unnatural* rule, had no right "to set up his own family in perpetual preference to all others forever." To Paine, "the exalting of one man so greatly above the rest, cannot be justified on the equal rights of nature. . . . for monarchy in every instance is the popery of government." *Common Sense* was the catalyst, the clarion call to independence. Within three months about 120,000 copies deluged the colonies.

After the war of independence began, Paine, with undiminshed zeal, voluntered for soldier duty and subsequently marched with Washington's demoralized army on its humiliating retreat through New Jersey. It was during that harrowing episode that Paine began the first in a series of 15 pamphlets known as *The American Crisis,* beginning with the oft-heralded "These are the times that try men's souls." Inspiring words to be sure, written for a particular occasion, but, indeed, prophetic for all seasons. These vital and stirring exhortations are invaluable, not only for their passionate appeals to patriotism, but for their insight, both journalistically and historically, into the changing situations from 1776 to 1783.

Aside from the high emotional pitch of his pen, which served dramatically the immediate needs of his countrymen, the deeper meaning of Paine's writings was the underlying theme of all of his works: the natural rights of men. The concept was not new—but it was broadened and systematized by Paine in his monumental *Rights of Man.* Written in England in 1791 as a smashing refutation of Edmund Burke's *Reflections on the Revolution in France,* this two-part work was the culmination of all of Paine's republican principles, and it very nearly caused the entire European continent to revolt against monarchy. Burke had degraded the right of a people to overthrow a tyrannical government, and Paine responded with what became the handbook of modern democracy. In essense, Paine based all his arguments upon the one premise that the order of mankind is not the product of government, but the *effect of its natural habits.* Therefore, men, regardless of distinctions of trade or nationality, are bound by "the mutual dependence and reciprocal interest which man has upon man, and all parts of civilized community upon each other . . . . Formal government makes but a small part of civilised life; and when even the best that human wisdom can devise is established, it is a thing more in name and idea than in fact." Never unmindful of the injustices perpetrated upon the young, the aged, and the poor, Paine summed it up in one universal challenge: "When it shall be said in any country in the world, 'My poor are happy; neither ignorance nor distress is to be found among them; my jails are empty of prisoners, my streets of beggars; the aged are not in want, the taxes are not oppressive . . . ' when these things can be said, then may that country boast of its constitution and its government."

As a result of *Rights,* Paine was forced to flee England, but not without a privately uttered "compliment" from Prime Minister William Pitt: "Tom Paine is quite right. What am I to do? As things are, if I were to encourage his opinions we should have a bloody revolution." Yet, thousands of copies were circulated, while publishers and booksellers were prosecuted—living proof of its stupendous influence and importance.

In France, to which he fled and was welcomed as a hero amid shouts of "Long live Thomas Paine, long live the rights of man," Paine was elected to the National Assembly. He helped draft a constitution and penned other republican works. But his humane efforts to save the life of Louis XVI made Paine a marked man. He was arrested and imprisoned in 1793. It was in his cell that Paine wrote his deistical masterpiece, *The Age of Reason.*

After ten months of gruelling imprisonment, Paine was released through the kind efforts of James Monroe, the new American minister to France. He eventually returned to his "much-loved America," where all that awaited him (for the most part) were epithets and abuse for writing the mind-libertating *Age of Reason.* But Paine did what a genius must do—and regretted none of it.

Indeed, as Ingersoll said with eulogistic reverence: "Paine lived a long, laborious and useful life. The world is better for his having lived. For the sake of truth he accepted hatred and reproach for his portion. His friends were untrue to him because he was true to himself, and true to them. He lost the repect of what is called society, but kept his own. His life is what the world calls failure and what history calls success. . . . A few more years—a few more brave men—a few more rays of light, and mankind will venerate the memory of him who said, 'The world is my country, and to do good my religion.' "■

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THE POLITICAL ECONOMY

The Last Days of the Club

By Chris Welles

Reviewed by Alan Fairgate / Dutton, 1975 / $15

Chris Welles has written an extremely important book tracing the background to the institutional crisis that presently envelops the New York Stock Exchange, and he provides insight into a significant power shift that is occurring within U.S. capital markets. While his study presents a detailed account of these developments, Welles writes well and clearly. Even the layman can read *The Last Days of the Club* without becoming lost in a morass of intricate detail. Welles also provides an extensive and very useful bibliography for those who wish to read further in more specialized sources.

The Last Days of the Club focuses on the gradual disintegration of the New York Stock Exchange, which the author describes as "among the most enduring and successful cartels of the modern commercial world." Beginning in 1792 with the Buttonwood Tree Agreement, the NYSE sought to prohibit competition and fix a uniform brokerage commission to be charged by its member firms to public investors. As Welles himself points out, the ultimate failure of these efforts by the NYSE represents a "classic economic process . . . . "the forces of competition have severely damaged a monopoly cartel that exposed itself to attack by resisting change and losing control of its market." While the process is not yet complete, it is clear that a fundamental transformation is presently occurring in the institutional framework of the capital market.

The weakening of the NYSE has occurred on two distinct levels. Welles provides a series of case studies to illustrate the incompetence and distortion in management priorities that emerged among member firms under the protection of the NYSE's fixed-commission rules. In addition to the deterioration in the internal management of the NYSE's member firms, Welles also examines a variety of external developments that contributed to the present crisis. While the popular press and even business magazines have tended to focus on the role of the Securities and Exchange Commission in ordering the termination of the NYSE's fixed commission pricing structure, Welles demonstrates in great detail that the fixed-commission pricing structure had already undergone considerable erosion as a result of competitive pressures originating among nonmember financial institutions. In effect, the SEC decision served merely to formalize a de facto situation of price competition that had emerged in the market.

Writers who contend that the SEC's ruling demonstrates the ability of regulatory agencies to pursue policies that conflict with the intersts of the regulated industry ignore the fact that the SEC ruling at best served only to accelerate a process that had already become irreversible. Furthermore, such a superficial analysis overlooks the possibility that the SEC, in response to underlying shifts in financial power within the capital market, may have shifted its allegiance from the member firms of the NYSE to nonmember financial institutions. This policy shift by the SEC may thus be analogous to the shift that occurred in the Interstate Commerce Commission, which originally served the interests of the railroads and subsequently acted on behalf of the shippers, implementing policies detrimental to the railroads.

Another external factor that served to undermine the NYSE's dominant position within the stock market involved the development of sophisticated computer technology. This new technology considerably reduced the need to trade stocks in a single physical location, a need which had traditionally strengthened the position of the NYSE. When the NYSE proved reluctant to adopt this new technology, a variety of private entrepreneurs emerged who were more willing to experiment with new trading methods that were more compatible with computer technology. Nonmember institutional firms were quick to perceive the potential of this new technology in providing them with less expensive and more efficient service, and they began to pressure the NYSE to adopt the technology and to develop links with trading networks currently employing the technology.

The increasing application of computer technology has made possible the emergence of a new central marketplace for the trading of stocks, linked by a national network of electronic comminication and computerized data processing equipment. The central issue of the current struggle between the NYSE and other financial institutions involves the question: who will control this new marketplace? Welles notes that the member firms of the NYSE were alarmed by the extent to which the Nixon administration appeared prepared to assist their competitiors through various agencies of the executive branch; perhaps these episodes contributed to the growing disillusionment of leading members of the Eastern Establishment, and expecially the Wall Street financial community, with the Nixon adminstration in the period immediately preceding Watergate.

Part III of Welles' book proves a thought-provoking, although unfortunately very brief, discussion of the emergence of a broad array of financial institutions that have lead the competitive challenge against the entrenched position of the NYSE. Welles points out that a process of instituitonalization has occurred in which the management of savings has been entrusted to specialized, professional organization such as mutual funds, life insurance companies, and corporate pension and retirement funds. Perhaps the most important of these professional organizations are the trust departments of the major commercial banks, which, by the end of 1973, held nearly $150 billion in personal trust funds and estates.

Welles is highly perceptive in his analysis of the emergence and consolidation of "financial-industrial complexes" as commercial banks launch aggressive efforts through bank holding companies to expand their scope of operations. The commercial banks are now organizing a major lobbying campaign to eliminate such restrictive legislation as the Glass-Steagall Act, which hampers their expansion programs. Welles argues that commercial banks will ultimately evolve into diversified financial service complexes which, if legislative obstacles are removed, will increasingly encroach upon the traditional preserves of brokerage firms, investment banks, and other financial institutions.

Welles' book also offers some insights into the impact of the business cycle on banks that should be of interest to anyone familiar with Austrian business-cycle theory. A growing number of Austro-libertarians have become convinced of the importance of the capital markets in understanding the evolution of the existing political-economic system of state capitalism, and Welles' book represents a valuable contribution to our understanding of changes presently occurring in the institutional framework of the capital market.

Unfortunately, although Welles professes to be generally sympathetic to the desirability of a competitive market process, his recommendations for reform of the existing system include a variety of interventionist measures presumably designed to maximize the potential for competitive activity. Hopefully, libertarians will not permit this weakness to serve as an excuse for not reading this very valuable book. ■

SOCIOLOGY

The Making of the Modern Family

By Edward Shorter

Reviewed by Barbara Luce-Turner / Basic Books, 1975 / $15

Family life is an area of interest to historians seeking to establish connections between public events and private behavior. Edward Shorter's *Making of the Modern Family* spans three centuries and concentrates on Western Europe. Although the author occasionally is too general in the application of statements, his use of sources and statistics is masterful. The conclusions he constructs from these materials are quite plausible.

One of Shorter's central themes is that the Industrial Revolution made possible romantic and maternal love. This, in turn, created a shift in family attitudes; "spouses and children came to be prized for what they were, rather than for what they represented or could do," writes Shorter. Open spontaneous communication, he believes, seldom existed for most people before the nineteenth century.

The Industrial Revolution also removed young people from the repression of their small communities, for the first time, women had the opportunity to be paid for their work; their economic independence led to emotional freedom from parents and church. The result was the first of two sexual revolutions.

During the waning years of the eighteenth century, these working women started sleeping with partners of their own choosing. Interestingly, one of Shorter's sources for statistics on this particular topic is the administrative reports of bureaucrats of that time who tended to be "astonishingly inquisitive about people's private lives." Imagine that!

As the Industrial Revolution progressed, the middle class became more prosperous. Women were able to spend more time with their children since their lives were free of incessant demands that characterized previous generations' child-rearing years. Consequently, maternal love became more commonplace.

The second sexual revolution, which bloomed in the 1950s, has witnessed the fragmentation of the nuclear family. Shorter contends that capitalism moved the family toward individuality and affection. The regression from the free-market economy could conceivably be one of the factors in the disintegration of the modern family. ■

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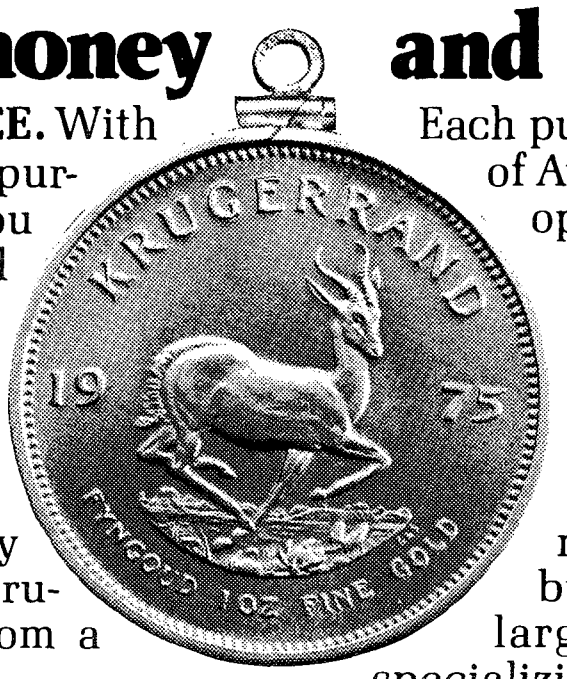

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The Literature of Freethought

By George H. Smith

"By free-thinking," wrote Anthony Collins in 1713, "I mean the use of the understanding in endeavoring to find out the meaning of any proposition whatsoever, in considering the nature of the evidence for or against it, and in judging of it according to the seeming force or weakness of the evidence." Freethought, argued Collins, is opposed to any religion that condemns doubt as sinful, or that demands the acceptance of doctrines on authority or faith.

Freethinkers thus include atheists, agnostics, deists, secularists, rationalists, and others who appeal to reason in order to challenge religious orthodoxy. The literature of freethought is enormous, running into thousands of books and countless pamphlets and periodicals. It is obviously futile, therefore, to attempt anything near a comprehensive bibliography in one essay. I have focused on eighteenth and nineteenth century freethought, primarily in England, with a final note on "Jesus revisionism." The twentieth century, unfortunately, is left nearly untouched, a victim of space limitations.

A major problem with freethought literature is that it is difficult to find, even in university libraries. Most

> "...the freethinkers had a knack for making adversity work for them...."

of the choice items have been out of print for many years, so only the dedicated used-book fanatic stands a chance of obtaining the better works. The "Atheist Viewpoint" reprint series (Arno, 1972) has some good items, but the overall selection is poor. Hence many freethought classics remain buried in obscurity.

I am indebted to my friend, Dr. Gordon Stein—an inveterate freethought scholar and bibliophile—for making me aware of the extent of freethought literature. Aside from the historical works I mention, my selections have been somewhat arbitrary; I have simply selected books with which I am personally familiar or which I personally like. If the reader consults the major freethought references, he will be guided through the thousands of works omitted here.

Indispensable for the history of freethought is the work of the great rationalist scholar J. M. Robertson. His *History of Freethought, Ancient and Modern, to the Period of the French Revolution* (2 vols., 4th ed., rev., Watts, 1936) remains the definitive work in its time period, as does *A History of Freethought in the Nineteenth Century* (2 vols., Watts, 1929). Also valuable is Robertson's *A Short History of Christianity* (Watts, 1902).

For those who desire a briefer overview of freethought, James Thrower's *Short History of Western Atheism* (Pemberton, 1971) is informative in some areas but strangely oblivous to the American and British freethought movements. Somewhat better in this regard is J. B. Bury's *History of Freedom of Thought* (1913; rev. by H. J. Blackman, Oxford, 1952).

There are several good reference works pertaining to freethought, including two biographical dictionaries. J. M. Wheeler's *Biographical Dictionary of Freethinkers* (Pioneer Press, 1889) is a mine of useful information, as is Joseph McCabe's *A Biographical Dictionary of Modern Rationalists* (Watts, 1920). Another useful book by McCabe is *A Rationalist Encyclopedia* (Watts, 1950). The two works by McCabe, however, should be read with caution for errors of dates and details.

Many books, although not confined to freethought, deal sympathetically with what may be termed the rationalistic spirit in the development of philosophy, religion, and science. A superb reference of this kind is Harry Elmer Barnes, *An Intellectual and Cultural History of the Western World* (3 vols., 3rd ed., rev., Dover, 1952). Though first published in 1865, F. A. Lange's *The History of Materialism* (one volume trans., Humanities Press, 1950) may still be profitably consulted. A problem with Lange's treatment, prevalent among many commentators on "materialism," is an intolerably vague conception of what the term "materialism" purportedly signifies.

A. D. White's *History of the Warfare of Science with Theology in Christendom* (2 vols., 1896; Dover, 1960) is deservedly a classic in its field. Although it has been convicted of some errors of detail—which is almost inevitable in any pathbreaking work—its major theses have withstood the test of time. A precursor to White, though less satisfactory in its overall treatment, is John Draper's *History of the Conflict Between Religion and Science (Appleton, 1875).* Rejoinders to White and Draper—which delight in pointing out that many great scientists were and are devout Christians—are remarkably adept at missing the point.

A superb study of philosophic thought from the late Middle Ages to the mid-nineteenth century is found in John H. Randall, Jr., *The Career of Philosophy* (2 vols., Columbia Univ. Press, 1962). Also outstanding is Preserved Smith, *A History of Modern Culture* (2 vols., Henry Holt, 1930, 1934). Both Randall and Smith give sympathetic accounts of the influence of freethought and secularism.

More specifically focused on religious skepticism during the same general period are, George T. Buckley, *Atheism in the English Renaissance* (1932; Russell and Russell, 1965); Don Cameron Allen, *Doubt's Boundless Sea* (John Hopkins, 1964); and Richard Popkin, *The History of Skepticism from Erasmus to Descartes* (rev., Harper and Row, 1968). Allen's book is bulging with information about the many antiatheist treaties during a period when there were few, if any, real atheists. Popkin's work is a seminal study of the revival of Pyrrhonic skepticism in the sixteenth century and its effect on theological and philosophical controversies.

One of the most significant precedents to modern freethought was the British deistic movement of the eighteenth century. Some deists sought to "reform" Christianity, while others were openly antagonistic, but they shared belief in a god of "nature," who, after creating the universe, left it to its own devices. Deists were usually hostile to revealed religion, whether in the form of alleged miracles or sacred scripture, and they became notorious for their attacks on traditional Christian doctrines.

A famous but unfairly negative account of British deism is Leslie Stephen, *History of English Thought in the Eighteenth Century* (2 vols., 3rd ed., 1902; Harcourt, Brace & World, 1962). Stephen was an agnostic, but he was hard on such deists as Anthony Collins and Thomas Woolston. HIs excesses are counteracted by the more judicious treatment of J. M. Robertson in *The Dynamics of Religion* (1897; 2nd ed., rev., Watts, 1926).

A balanced view of deism is presented in Ernest C. Mossner's *Bishop Butler and the Age of Reason* (Macmillan, 1936), and an exhaustive summary of the deists and their works is found in John Orr's *English Deism: Its Roots and Its Fruits* (Eerdmans, 1934). S.G. Hefelbower, *The Relation of John Locke to English Deism* (Univ. of Chicago, 1918) explores this sticky issue, while Norman Torrey, *Voltaire and the English Deists* (1930; Archon, 1967) gives a reliable summary of the French skeptic's reliance upon his English predecessors. For those who wish to sample the deists first hand, an excellent selection of deistic works is found in E. Graham Waring, *Deism and Natural Religion: A Sourcebook* (Ungar, 1967).

Important preludes to the deistic movement include *De Veritate* (1624) by Lord Herbert of Cherbury, who is often referred to as the "Father of English Deism"; *Leviathan* (1651), by Thomas Hobbes, who scandalized the intellectual community with his broadside attacks on established religious doctrines; and *Theological-Political Treatise* (1670), by Spinoza, who subjected the Bible to the court of reason with consumate skill.

The writings of the British deists are too numerous to be catalogued here, but we can survey a few of the significant items.

Charles Blount, although he professed loyalty to Christianity, produced three works that laid the foundation for later deistic works. These were *Anima Mundi* (1679), *Great is Diana of the Ephesians* (1680), and *Oracles of Reason* (1693). Influenced by Hobbes and Spinoza, Blount upheld reason over revelation and launched a critical analysis of the Bible.

Another professed Christian reformer, John Toland, wrote *Christianity not Mysterious* in 1696, which proved to be one of the most influential deistic books ever written. Building upon Locke's theory of knowledge, Toland sought to remove from Christianity anything that claimed to transcend reason. He received a cold reception from Locke, but this was preferable to the warmer reception of the Irish Paliament, which saw fit to burn the first edition of his work.

Another follower of Locke was Anthony Collins, author of the classic *Discourse of Freethinking* (1713), which was largely a plea for toleration. Collins also wrote *Discourse of the Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion* (1724), a pathbreaking analysis of Old Testament prophecies allegedly fulfilled by Jesus. Showing the absurdity of taking the prophecies literally, Collins called for an allegorical interpretation—but in the appeal to allegory, common among deists at the time, it is difficult to separate sincerity from a ruse to escape legal penalties for blasphemy.

Then there was Tomas Woolston, called by one critic "poor mad Woolston, most scandalous of the deists," and charged by another with "scurrilous buffoonery and gross raillery." This learned Cambridge graduate was thought quite sane until he attacked the reported

> "Spinoza subjected the Bible to the court of reason with consummate skill."

miracles of the New Testament with uncompromising vigor in a series of six *Discourses on the Miracles of Our Savior* (1727-29). Woolston, like Collins, sought refuge in allegorical interpretation, but unlike Collins, he signed his name to his books. This led to his conviction on a charge of blasphemy in 1729, for which he was fined and sentenced to one year in prison.

In his charges that Jesus was an imposter and magician, Woolston instigated a ribald, popular form of freethought that influenced such figures as Voltaire. A more dispassionate form of deism with a more constructive emphasis appeared in Matthew Tindal's *Christianity as Old as Creation* (1730). Often called the Deistic Bible, this work marked the apex of British deism, eliciting over 150 replies. Here were compiled

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the most cogent arguments for a "Natural Religion." The slant of this book may be gleaned from some of its chapter titles: "That the Perfection, and Happiness of all rational Beings, Supreme, as well as Subordinate, consists in living up to the Dictates of their Nature"; "That the Religion of Nature is an absolutely perfect Religion; and that external Revelation can neither add to, nor take from its Perfection . . . ."

Deism was carried to the "working class" mostly through the writings of Peter Annet. His *History and Character of Saint Paul* (1750) portrayed Paul as lazy, greedy, and dishonest, and *The Resurrection of Jesus Considered* (1744) appealed to the unreliable and contradictory nature of the resurrection accounts as a basis for discouting their credibility. "If it not be fit to examine into Truth," declared Annet in a passionate appeal common among freethinkers, "Truth is not fit to be known." Apparently the British government disagreed. For attempting to "diffuse and propagate irreligious and diabolical opinions in the minds of His Majesty's subjects, and to shake the foundations of the Christian religion," Annet, at the advanced age of seventy, was pilloried (with a paper on his forehead inscribed "blasphemy") and sentenced to a year of hard labor in prison.

> "*The System of Nature* is the best and most influential defense of atheism ever written."

(An interesting sidelight to Annet is his book, *Social Bliss Considered: In Marriage and Divorce; Cohabitating Unmarried, and Public Whoring,* published under the pseudonym of "Gideon Archer" in 1749. In his call for the legalization of divorce, unmarried cohabitation, and prostitution, Annet seems an eighteenth century verison of Walter Block.)

Among other important deistic works of the same period, we should mention the following: *The True Gospel of Jesus Christ Asserted* (1739) by Thomas Chubb; the posthumous *Philosophical Works* of Lord Bolingbroke (1754); *Free Inquiry into the Miraculous Powers, which are Supposed to have Subsisted in the Christian Church* (1749) by Conyers Middleton; and *The Religion of Nature Delineated* (1722) by William Wollaston (which, incidentally, contains a little-known but superb defense of property rights from a libertarian perspective).

Finally, there was David Hume, the philosophic genius who, although he did not enter the fray of religious controversy to the extent of other deists, contributed the most sophisticated and influential arguments against Christianity and revealed religion–the most famous being his celebrated attack on miracles in *An Inquiry Concerning Human Understanding* (1748). His other works pertaining to religion were *The Natural History of Religion* (1757) and *Dialogues Concerning Natural Religion* (apparently written around 1757 but not published until 1779, after his death). For a good exposition of Hume, see Antony Flew's *Hume's Philosophy of Belief* (Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1961).

Freethought reached its highpoint in nineteenth century Britain, where it became militantly anti-Christian and often atheistic. This period is discussed in detail in J. M. Robertson, *A History of Freethought in the Nineteenth Century* (*supra*); a readable survey of the intellectual climate, with a different emphasis than Robertson, is A. W. Benn's *The History of English Rationalism in the Nineteenth Century* (2 vols., 1906; Russell & Russell, 1962). Edward Royle's superb *Victorian Infidels* (Univ. of Manchester, 1974) concentrates on the secularist movement initiated by G. J. Holyoake. Several other works fill out the century: W. S. Smith's *The London Heretics, 1870-1914* (Dodd, Mead, 1968) is excellent, as is David Tribe's *100 Years of Freethought* (Elek, 1967). A. H. Nethercot's *The First Five Lives of Annie Besant* (Univ. of Chicago, 1960) explores the dynamic but unstable life of this enigmatic woman during her association with Charles Bradlaugh and the freethought movement, prior to her conversion to Theosophy under the spell of Mme. Blavatsky.

Of the many significant figures in British freethought, only a few will be mentioned here. George Jacob Holyoake (1817-1906) was a disciple of Robert Owen and a major exponent of "co-operation"–a kind of voluntary socialism. (see his *History of Co-operation,* rev., T. Fisher Unwin, 1908.) Holyoake coined the term "secularism," which he believed preferable to "atheism," and as the founder and editor of about ten magazines he exerted a great deal of influence. For his suggestion that the deity be put on "half-pay," he served a six-month prison sentence–the details of which are recounted in his *History of the Last Trial by Jury for Atheism* (1851; Arno, 1972). Among Holyoake's better works are *The Trial of Theism* (rev., Trubner & Co., 1877), an excellent defense of atheism, and *English Secularism* (Open Court, 1896). Like many freethinkers of his day, Holyoake actively engaged in debates with the clergy. One of his better known was with Rev. Brewin Grant on *Christianity and Secularism* (Ward & Co., 1854), which occupied six evenings. A rambling autobiography of Holyoake is found in his *Sixty Years of an Agitator's Life* (2 vols., T. Fisher Unwin, 1900), and additional details are provided in Joseph McCabe, *Life and Letters of George Jacob Holyoake* (2 vols., Watts, 1908).

Charles Bradlaugh (1833-1891) was the most important atheist ever produced by Britain. A superb orator, writer, and organizer, Bradlaugh replaced Holyoake as the militant force in British freethought. He edited the *National Reformer,* a freethought weekly, and in 1866 he founded the National Secular Society. In 1876 he and Annie Besant were prosecuted for publishing C. Knowlton's *Fruits of Philosophy* (a pamphlet on birth control), but Bradlaugh, an excellent lawyer, succeeded in quashing the indictment. (For an account of the trial, see *The Queen v. Charles Bradlaugh and Annie Besant,* Freethought Publishing Co., n.d.) Although elected to Parliament in 1880, Bradlaugh's atheism prevented him from being seated until 1886.

Some of Bradlaugh's better essays–including his magnificent "Plea for Atheism"–are contained in *Humanity's Gain From Unbelief* (Watts, 1929), and articles by and about Bradlaugh are found in J. P. Gilmour, ed., *Champion of Liberty: Charles Bradlaugh* (Watts, 1933; Arno, 1972). An outstanding biography of Bradlaugh is David Tribe's *President Charles Bradlaugh, M. P.* (Archon, 1971), which contains an extensive list of his writings. Still useful is the older biography by Bradlaugh's daughter, H.B. Bonner, *Charles Bradlaugh: A Record of His Life and Work* (with J. M. Robertson, 2 vols., T. Fisher Unwin, 1898).

One of the great contributions of nineteenth century freethinkers was their dogged persistence in fighting for freedom of speech and press. Many well-known freethinkers–such as Holyoake, Robert Taylor, and G. W. Foote in Britain, and D. N. Bennett in the United States–were routinely trotted off to jail, sometime for long sentences, not to mention heavy fines. The highest price paid was by the publisher Richard Carlile, who, between 1817 and 1835, served over nine years in prison for publishing, among other items, Paine's *Age of Reason.* In addition, Carlile's wife, sister, and over twenty of his workers served time, sometimes for two years or more. But the freethinkers had a knack for making adversity work for them, and Carlile was no exception. As a result of the publicity surrounding one of his trials, sales of the *Age of Reason* skyrocketed to over 2000 within two months. Moreover, Carlile read the entire text of the *Age of Reason* during his defense, which was then allowed to circulate as part of the verbatim trial transcript. In this inexpensive form it sold over 10,000 copies. For details on Carlile, see Guy A. Aldred, *Richard Carlile, Agitator* (Pioneer Press, 1923). A summary account of blasphemy prosecutions is contained in H. B. Bonner, *Penalties Upon Opinion* (Watts, 1913).

Freethought in eighteenth century America, as in England, took the form of deistic belief in a god of nature and vigorous attacks on Christian revelation. An excellent treatment of American deism is Adolf Koch, *Republican Religion* (1933), reprinted as *Religion of the American Enlightenment* (Thomas Crowell, 1968). The first overt American attack on Christianity was Ethan Allen's *Reason the Only Oracle of Man* (1784), a rambling and poorly written collection of essays compiled by Allen since his youth. In stark contrast is Thomas Paine's classic masterpiece, *Age of Reason* (Pt. I, 1794; Pt. II, 1796). Although it appeared after the peak of the deistic movement and contains little that is original, *Age of Reason* is perhaps the finest deistic piece ever penned, thanks to Paine's literary genius.

Concerning Paine's religious views, see M. D. Conway, *The Life of Thomas Paine* (1892; G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1909); and Ira M. Thompson, Jr., *The Religious Beliefs of Thomas Paine* (Vantage, 1965). Recent biographies of Paine include Audrey Williamson, *Thomas Paine* (Allen & Unwin, 1973); and David F. Hawke, *Paine* (Harper & Row, 1974).

Early nineteenth century American freethought is surveyed in A. Post, *Popular Freethought, 1820-1850* (Columbia Univ. Press, 1943). This survey is continued in Sidney Warren, *American Freethought, 1860-1914* (Columbia Univ. Press, 1943). A sprawling and rare work that contains much first-hand information about nineteenth century American freethinkers, is S. P. Putnam, *400 Years of Freethought* (Truth Seeker, 1894). Another informative account of American freethought, centering around the history of *The Truth Seeker* (a freethought paper started by D. M. Bennett in 1873), is George MacDonald's *Fifty Years of Freethought* (2 vols., Truth Seeker, 1929, 1931).

> ". . . *The Age of Reason* is perhaps the finest deistic piece ever penned . . . ."

The giant of American freethought was Robert G. Ingersoll (1833-1899). One of America's greatest orator's, he was immensely successful in popularizing the ideas of free thought. Many different editions of his speeches were published (some of them pirated), but the authorized editions are contained in the "Dresden Edition" of *The Works of Robert G. Ingersoll* (12 vols., C.P. Farrell, 1900). A meticulous bibliography of works by and about Ingersoll is found in Gordon Stein, *Robert G. Ingersoll: A Checklist* (Kent State Univ. Press, 1969). The best biography of Ingersoll to date is Orvin Larson's *American Infidel: Robert G. Ingersoll* (Citadel Press, 1962).

Although this essay deals primarily with freethought in England and America, it would border on criminal negligence not to mention the tremendously important contributions of eighteenth century French freethinkers, commonly referred to as philosophes.

J. S. Spink's *French Free-Thought from Gassendi to Voltaire* (Univ. of London, 1960) is a reliable, scholarly treatment. The formative period of the Enlightenment, 1680-1715, is treated by Paul Hazard in *The European Mind* (1935; World, 1963). A sympathetic account of the philosophes is contained in Peter Gay, *The Enlightenment: An Interpretation* (Vol. I, Knopf, 1967). Also recommended is George R. Havens, *The Age of Ideas* (1955; Collier, 1962). An excellent selection of Enlightenment writing is found in Peter Gay,

(Continued on page 15)

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Washington Watch

By E. Scott Royce

•The Next Two Years—As a result of the 1976 elections, we can realistically expect bigger federal deficits, more rampant inflation, and, on balance, an expansion of the federal government for at least the first two years of Pres'dent Jimmy's four-year term. To be sure, the same could have been said had Ford won. But the outgoing president, while hardly a fiscal conservative, *did* veto some congressional attempts to hike federal spending. Had he triumphed in November, things might have proceeded at a slower pace. Carter, both by inclination and due to pressure from party and liberal interest groups, will be far less likely to attempt to hold the line. Any token cutbacks in the bureaucracy or budget should be more than offset by expansion elsewhere.

Despite bad feelings created by inept liaison work on the part of the incoming adminstration, Carter should receive strong cooperation from Congress on most issues. The Democrats, after all, maintained their commanding margins in both the House and Senate, and the size of the conservative Democrat congressional bloc has steadily decreased in recent years.

The Senate, at least, should be slightly more "liberal" during 1977-78. Moderate-to-conservative Republicans in seven states lost their seats to more liberal Democrats, and at least three of the GOPers who won seats from the followers of Mr. Peanut are generally considered to hold moderate-to-liberal views (Lugar, Ind.; Danforth, Mo.; Chafee, R.I.). Another Republican upset winner, Malcolm Wallop of Wyoming, may yet surprise his party's right wing on some issues.

•Gun Control—Gun control opponents are bracing themselves for a 1977 revival of legislation similar to HR11193. That bill was designed to ban manufacture and sale of so-called concealable handguns, a euphemism for most handguns, and to severely restrict the number of gun dealers by regulating the smaller ones out of business. Under HR11193 the Treasury Department would have been empowered to (1) set any regulations it saw fit regarding storage of handguns at a dealership for the purpose of theft prevention, (2) tighten up the already onerous record-keeping requirements for dealers, (3) raise license fees for dealers, manufacturers, and importers by as much as 5000 percent, (4) shut down any dealer that failed to meet federal standards.

While President-elect Carter and many of his prominent backers are avid gun control proponents, such legislation would almost certainly run into trouble in the House if not the Senate. The National Rifle Assocation, the lobby that serves as America's primary bulwark against infringement of the right to keep and bear arms guaranteed under the Second Amdendment, supported over 200 successful House candidates in the 1976 election. NRA, by the way, is currently challenging in the courts the illegally passed District of Columbia gun law.

•Tax Reform—The sections of the Tax Reform Act of 1976 dealing with privacy questions were a mixed bag, the ACLU reports. Section 1205 of the act required that when the IRS subpoenas bank records, under most circumstances it must give notice to the individual to whom the records pertain. Section 202 guarantees the confidentiality of tax records. The list of exceptions—of individuals to whom such material may be disclosed—however, includes state tax officials, congressional committees involved with tax legislation, the Justice Department, and the president (upon written request). The worst "privacy" feature of the measure is Section 1211, which allows the states to utilize Social Security numbers for identification purposes in a variety of areas, including taxes, general public assistance, drivers licenses, and motor vehicle registration.

•Export Controls—In the closing days of the 94th Congress, controversial amendments prevented extension of the Export Administration Act. Among the problematical amendments were restrictions on American business cooperation with the Arab boycott, exports of nuclear technology and equipment, and presidential authority to limit agricultural exports. The old law allowed federal regulation of trade on grounds such as national security, foreign policy, and domestic shortage. President Ford, unwilling to allow the country to escape this measure of interference with free trade, promptly signed an executive order that continued the old controls indefinitely.

• Investment Advisors Act—One piece of legislation that quite deservedly bit the dust during the final days of the 1976 session was the Investment Advisors Act Amendments bill (HR 13737, S 2849). This bill, which may be reintroduced in 1977, would have authorized the Securities and Exchange Commission to license publishers of investment advisory newsletters as well as individuals providing certain other advisory services. The bill was killed in committee, due in large part to a number of publishers who organized the Committe to Protect the Small Investor to lobby against it.

•Corporate Charters—Another liberal scheme that never got beyond the hearings stage during 1975-76—but which will undoubtedly be back—would have required major corporations to be federally chartered and to make annual reports on various matters to Washington. Such regulation, it was contended, would stimulate greater corporate social responsibility. In reality, as the U.S. Chamber of Commerce notes, federal corporate chartering would mean further "stifling of productivity and efficiency."

•Phone Company Competition—AT&T's hopes of ever obtaining passage of the badly misnamed Consumer Communications Reform Act have grown dimmer in recent months. The measure, designed to squelch growing competition by nonindustry companies in sales of business phone equipment and specialized business message services, faces an uncertain future due to disagreement among key congressional figures over its necessity and to the defeat for reelection of its prime Senate sponsor, Vance Hartke (D-Ind.). ■

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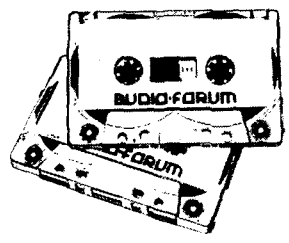

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Smith—*(Continued from page 13)*

ed., *The Enlightenment: A Comprehensive Anthology* (Simon & Schuster, 1973).

One of the important influences on the French Enlightenment was Pierre Bayle's *Historical and Critical Dictionary*, first published in 1607 and revised on several subsequent occasions. An abridged translation of this voluminous work is in the Library of Liberal Arts series (Richard Popkin, ed., Bobbs-Merrill, 1965). Although Bayle professed Calvinism, his sincerity has been questioned due to his many scandalous remarks about Christianity and the Bible. It is widely believed that Bayle, like other unorthodox thinkers of his time, professed to be more religious than he really was in an effort to avoid potentially severe legal penalties. This is the general view, for instance, of Howard Robinson's *Bayle the Sceptic* (Columbia Univ. Press, 1931). More recently, however, scholars have granted more credibility to Bayle's fideism (attacking reason to make room for faith), as is demonstrated in Karl C. Sandberg, *At the Crossroads of Faith and Reason: An Essay on Pierre Bayle* (Univ. of Arizona, 1966).

The best-known figure of the French Enlightenment was Francois-Marie Arouet, better known as Voltaire. His writing is extensive and is available in many easily located editions. A representative selection of his work is contained in Peter Gay's edited translation of the *Philosophical Dictionary* (Basic Books, 1962). Of the numerous biographies of Voltaire, one of the best is Theodore Besterman, *Voltaire* (Harcourt, Brace, and World, 1969).

As a deist, Voltaire was at loggerheads with the more radical athestis of his time, such as Diderot and d'Holbach. Diderot, known primarily as the editor of the monumental *Encyclopedia* (which he worked on from 1751-65), paid his dues with three years of imprisonment. Arthur M. Wilson's *Diderot* (Oxford, 1972) is a brilliant biography of this amazing and versatile mind. Some of Diderot's opinions on religion—e.g., "The Christian religion teaches us to imitate a God that is cruel, insidious, jealous, and implacable in his wrath"—are contained in "Thoughts on Religion," an essay reprinted by Richard Carlile in 1819. For an anthology of Diderot's philosophical writing, see J. Kemp, ed., *Diderot: Interpreter of Nature* (International Pub., 1963).

Baron d'Holbach, an import from Germany and a patron of the philosophes, is justly famous for his *System of Nature*, published in 1770 under the name of "Mirabaud" (A French writer who died in 1760)—a device to conceal and protect the true author. D'Holbach was probably assisted by Diderot and other Paris intellectuals, and the result was a magnificent, if somewhat prolix, defense of atheism and naturalism—the first explicit atheistic treatise of Western civilization (or at least the first one to survive). "Let us then conclude," wrote d'Holbach, "that the word *God*. . . , not presenting to the mind any true idea, ought to be banished [from] the language of all those who are desirous to speak so as to be understood" (H. D. Robinson, trans., J. P. Mendum, 1889). This is typical of the vigorous, uncompromising tone of *The System of Nature*, the best and most influential defense of atheism ever written.

A greatly condensed version of d'Holbach's masterpiece is available under the title *Superstition in all Ages* (Peter Eckler, 1889; reprinted many times by various freethought publishers), which is mistakenly attributed to Jean Meslier, a priest who declared himself a heretic posthumously in his *Testament*. (This mistaken authorship remains uncorrected even in the 1972 Arno Press edition.)

I shall conclude this survey of freethought works with an important but neglected body of literature that denies any basis for belief in a historical Jesus, even the watered-down Jesus of Protestant liberalism. The first mention of this "Jesus revisonism" is by Voltaire, who reported that he was visited in 1769 by "some disciples of Bolingbroke, more ingenious than learned," who argued that Jesus never existed. Voltaire was unconvinced, but the mythicist theory was given shape by two Frenchmen: Count Volney in *Ruins of Empires* (1791) and Charles Francois Dupuis in *Origins of all Religions* (5 vols., 1795).

Dupuis contended that Christianity is a variation of the ancient Solar Myth and that Jesus is merely another guise of ancient mythical deities. "The hero of the legends known by the name of gospels," he wrote, "is the same hero who has been celebrated with far more genius in the poems written in honor of Bacchus, Osiris, Hercules, Adonis, and others."

Another staunch defender of the mythicist thesis was the renegade British clergyman, Robert Taylor. During his first imprisonment for blasphemy, he wrote *Syntagma of the Evidences of the Christian Religion* (1828; J. P. Mendum, 1876) and *The Diegesis, Being a Discovery of the Origin, Evidences, and Early History of Christianity* (1829; J. P. Mendum, 1853). Taylor was a learned and original—if sometimes unreliable—scholar. This last is understandable considering the difficult conditions under which he worked.

Better known than Taylor was German theologian Bruno Bauer, who, in a series of books appearing after 1840, denied the historicity of Jesus. Bauer regarded Jesus as a fictitious character invented by the author of Mark as an expression of faith. (For an account of Bauer and other radical theologicans during the same period, see Albert Schweitzer, *The Quest of the Historical Jesus*, 1906; Macmillan, 1968.)

Another interesting presentation of the mythicist case is *Revelations of Antichrist*, published anonymously but written by W. H. Burr (1879; Arno, 1972).

The most scholarly and formidable presentation of the mythicist thesis was penned by John M. Robertson. His major works on this subject were *Christianity and Mythology* (Watts, 1900; rev., 1910) and *Pagan Christs* (Watts, 1903; rev., 1911). These were followed by three volumes in which he expanded his case and replied to is critics: *The Historical Jesus* (Watts, 1916), *The Jesus Problem* (Watts, 1917), and *Jesus and Judas* (Watts, 1927).

Among the other books defending Jesus revisionism, the following are noteworthy: *The Christ Myth* (Open Court, 1911) and *The Witness to the Historicity of Jesus* (Watts, 1912; Arno, 1972), both by Arthur Drews; *Ecce Deus* (Watts, 1912) by W. B. Smith; *The Origins of Christianity* (4th ed., Watts, 1933) by Thomas Whittaker; *The Creation of Christ* (2 vols., Watts, 1939) by P. L. Couchoud; and *Ancient History of the God Jesus* (Watts, 1938) by Edouard Dujardin.

An excellent overview of the mythicist controversy, written by a rationalist scholar who believed in the historical reality of Jesus, is A. Robertson, *Jesus: Myth or History*, (2nd ed., Watts, 1949). More recently, an excellent defense of the mythicist thesis is found in Herbert Cutner's *Jesus: God, Man, or Myth?* (Truth Seeker, 1950). And the mythicist gauntlet has been skillfully wielded in the past few years by G. A. Wells in two books still in print: *The Jesus of the Early Christians* (Pemberton, 1971) and *Did Jesus Exist?* (Elek, 1975). Both of these detailed works are highly recommended.■

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Music IN REVIEW

Jazz: The Golden Age

By Neil McCaffrey

PART VI: EXIT ARTIE SHAW, AND THE GOLDEN AGE

Artie Shaw and his various orchestras have mostly fallen between two stools. The critics always treated the leader and his bands with reserve. The public certainly liked them all; but, except for one glorious year between fall 1938 and fall 1939, denied Artie the first place in their fickle hearts.

We needn't linger over the vagrant tastes of either group, except to recall that Shaw was in part responsible himself. He never pandered to anyone. A prickly, volatile, introspective man, he went his own way. Nor was that way ever fixed for long. At 24, he abruptly left the lucrative New York radio studios for a Pennsylvania farm. There he tried to write a novel, tore it up after a year (hope deferred: three decades later he published three respectable novellas under the title of *I Love You, I Hate You, Drop Dead!*), and returned to music.

But the restlessness never left him. He had almost as many wives as bands. An overview of the latter finds him leading a unique jazz string ensemble from mid-1935 to early 1937; a conventional swing band, 1937-39; two orchestras heavy laden with strings, 1940-42; an all-star Navy swing band, 1943; a civilian swing band, 1944-45; another big swing and string orchestra, 1946; a string orchestra of some 40 pieces that played classical music (to distastrous reviews), 1949; a bop-styled big band, 1949-50; a conventional big band around 1951 or 1952; a modern combo, 1953-54.

And then he put down his clarinet, never to play again.

We can moan the loss—or reflect that he probably gave us, at each period, as much as his restless genius could sustain. Through two productive decades and some dozen bands, he always said something. And it speaks volumes about the thirties as the golden age of American music to recall that Shaw's best band was also his most popular.

It was just another underrated swing band when the boys trouped into a New York studio to record "Begin the Beguine" as the B side. So much for his commercial instincts.

Benny Goodman was then riding high. He had no serious rival. When Shaw became the new King of Swing—certified and crowned in the important Make Believe Ballroom band poll in fall 1938—it was as if John Nance Garner had overthrown FDR.

If Shaw's reign was brief (Goodman edged him out in the June, 1939, Make Believe Ballroom poll), it was no fluke. That edition of the Shaw band represented perhaps the supreme fusion of jazz and popular music. For evidence, consult *The Complete Artie Shaw: Volume I, 1938-1939* (Bluebird, AXM2-5517), a double album that Bluebird plans to be the first of a series that will take us through 1945.

It was a young band. Most of the boys were just this side of (pre-Nixon) voting age. (Jazz, an exuberant art, is best played by young men. When I hear old-timers, I'm usually reminded of Dr. Johnson's comment on women preaching.) Shaw, no greybeard at 29, supplied the training, the experience, the polish, above all the vision.

The vision grew out of Shaw's approach to the clarinet: lyrical, warm, sensuous, legato. It is generally conceded that Shaw's tone was warmer and richer than Goodman's—at any rate, than post-1936 Goodman. Some aficionados even hold that Shaw's improvising dug deeper, harmonically, than Benny's. Perhaps; I mention this not to be forced to choose but rather to underscore that we are discussing a jazzman of the first magnitude.

The band bore the stamp of the boss. They were superbly drilled. The arrangements always swung; and, what was much rarer, they always *sang* as they swung. Shaw did much of the scoring himself; and, like Glenn Miller, always guided and checked Jerry Gray and the several bandsmen who contributed scores.

The section work set a standard perhaps never surpassed by a swing band—at least until the first Woody Herman Herd of 1945. The saxes were justly famous. Only four, they were led by altoist Les Robinson to an awesomely rich sound. The brass were biting yet legato, never harsh, The first rhythm section (Les Burness on piano, Sid Weiss on bass, Al Avola on Guitar, Cliff Leeman on drums) was good; and when Bob Kitsis replaced Burness and Buddy Rich replaced Leeman, it became one of the most galvanizing in jazz history.

When musicians joined this band, they were unknown. When the band broke up, many were stars—or would go on to become stars. Shaw was as good a teacher as ever fronted a band. He brought to maturity Rich and Leeman; trumpeters Johnny Best and Bernie Privin; tenor saxists George Auld and Tony Pastor. He gave trombonist George Arus the only showcase that underrated musician ever enjoyed. He brought Les Robinson along until he became an exemplar among lead altoists. And he launched a girl singer of distinction, Helen Forrest.

It was not just a matter of standing up front and blowing. Shaw, never a victim of false modesty, once pointed out that one of his principal functions was knowing how, and how much, to control an effervescent crew. Nobody had to spur men like Auld and Rich. The problem was to channel all that energy and talent and showmanship. Shaw did—as no one else has ever managed to. He was a *leader.*

The Shaw vision extended to the band's book. No leader, jazz or dance band, has ever mined the riches of Broadway show music as imaginatively. "Begin the Beguine" was only one of dozens—and far from the most interesting. Of the 34 tunes in this marvelous album, eleven are classic show tunes, another six pop standards. Four are jazz tunes (three of them by Shaw), and 13 are superior pops of the day. The breakdown demonstrates Shaw's aim: to enrich popular music with jazz, and conversely.

During his year in the sun, Shaw was all over the airwaves. He had a weekly show sponsored by Old Golds, and often turned up on late-night remotes from New York's Hotel Lincoln and Hotel Pennsylvania, and from the Palomar Ballroom in Los Angeles. The New York dates yielded a double album of air-checks, *Artie Shaw in the Blue Room/in the Cafe Rouge.* Released by RCA in 1961, it is long out of print: a minor tragedy, because it captures a great band at its greatest, and may be the best air-check album ever issued. If you find a copy in a rare record shop, hang the expense.

Less satisfying are volumes 1 and 2 (Jazz Guild 1001 and 1003) of *Artie Shaw—"Melody and Madness"* (the name of his first show for Old Golds). Though not without good moments, they are the sort of albums a fastidious leader would never allow to be issued. Bootlegs, they are transferred from primitive home equipment that recorded faster than the band was playing. As a result, the tempos are rushed and the vocals distorted. Helen Forrest sounds like a little girl, and Tony Pastor, normally husky-voiced, sounds castrated. Even more surprising for this band, now and again they suffer lapses of intonation.

Still, every performance by a band of this stature is worth cherishing. We had them for so little time. The breakup was so abrupt that it made the front pages. They were playing at the Cafe Rouge on November 18, 1939. Shaw finished a set—and drove off to Mexico. George Auld tried to keep the band together, but it was like Laurel without Hardy.

Though we never realized it at the time, it was the end of an era. Looking back, we can see now that the thirties were the golden age of American music: the golden age of jazz . . . the golden age of the big bands . . . the golden age of the popular song. What followed was often good music—but for the most part not nearly *as* good. Just about the time Artie was heading south of the border, America was crowning a new dance band monarch. You remember Glenn Miller. ■

FICTION

The Camp of the Saints

By Jean Raspail

Reviewed by Lynne Holdom / Scribner's, 1975 / $8.95

If you don't read any other book this year, read *The Camp of the Saints.* It is probably one of the most important books of the decade, as it asks questions of the basic values we live by.

The book is not being marketed as science fiction, but it could be considered so, as it takes place about 20 years or so in the future. It is a future in which the entire Third World is a vast slum. Just before total collapse, a million or so beggars in Calcutta seize whatever ships are in the harbor and head for Europe and the good life. They anchor just off the French Riveria. (To be honest, this is probably because the author is French—an American would probably have them off New York or Miami Beach.)

Now the point is that the French aren't doing so great either; nobody's starving but no one is well off. The French *can't* absorb or cope with these people without destroying their own society and losing everything they have. How much do they owe these beggars?

There's a lot of naturalistic writing to show exactly the degradation and squalor in which the beggars live. Even French poverty is wealth to them. It's also hinted that other poor nations and peoples are waiting to see the French reaction to the "invasion" before setting off themselves.

Naturally the French have every reaction from "bleeding heart" liberal to "shoot them all" conservative.

If someone breaks in robs me or you, that's a crime. Is it any less a crime to rob a country or a civilization? Just how far can a civilization go to protect itself? This may become more than just a speculation in the next few years. That's why I think this book is important. So does the *Times,* but it accuses the author of racism, as he seems to be suggesting that France would be better off killing all these people. I don't think it's that simple. ©1975 by Richard E. Geiss. ■

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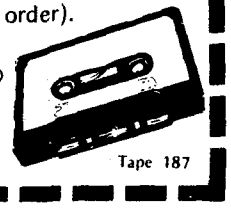

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Briefly IN REVIEW

Astride Two Cultures: Arthur Koestler at 70
Edited by Harold Harris

"The title of this celebration of Koestler's life and work on the occasion of his 70th birthday refers logically enough to the fact that although he is most widely known as the author of a superb novel, *Darkness at Noon*, Koestler is also a most effective contributor to scientific discussion of the distinctions between brain, mind and consciousness. A liberating sense that man is more than an automatic system of reflexes emerges from the book. The 14 contributors discuss Koestler's other fiction, "The Sleepwalkers," and his history of science, the always fascinating story of his life and his preoccupation with the paranormal. A lengthy 'overview' by Roy Webberly must be one of the best things on Koestler available and is a *tour de force* of popular expostion; Kathleen Nott on "Koestler and the Behaviorists" is another prize. . . ."–*Publishers Weekly* **/ Intellectual Biography / Random House, 1976 / $10**

The Rockefellers: An American Dynasty
By Peter Collier and David Horowitz

"While they were accumulating more than 200 hours of interviews with the 'Cousins' (the fourth-generation Rockefellers) the authors were able to penetrate the barriers of the 'brain trust in Roon 5600' in the RCA Building and were given a limited access to the Rockefeller Family Archives. And when a family PR man asked if their book was going to be favorable or unfavorable, they replied that they 'planned simply to draw a realistic and full-blooded portrait of the family.' This is what they have done in this carefully annotated, thoroughgoing, balanced and readable family history...." –*Publishers Weekly* **/ Biography-History / Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1976 / $15**

Powers of Mind
By Adam Smith

"While still a Wall Street fund manager, Adam Smith (who wrote *The Money Game* and *Supermoney*) began to read about mind-body control, the feats of yogis, legends from religion, and started to look into meditation practices. He investigated almost everything from LSD to biofeedback to Eastern religions. He talked to Baba Ram Dass, John Lilly, and other gurus, swamis, mystics, athletes, and practitioners of many faiths and beliefs–including experts in the fields of medicine, phsyics, and neuroscience. He took courses in Arica and Transcendental Meditation, he observed fads and movements. And it is all carefully and honestly reported, his doubts and disbeliefs, the probable frauds, but also the authentic phenomena, his own altered-state experiences, and the changes in his life. . . . something important is happening in this new world of subjective awareness and this is an excellent, well-documented survey of it all. Highly recommended.–George Adelman in *Library Journal* **/ Psychology / Random, 1975 / $8.95**

The Failure of the NRA
By Bernard Bellush

"The Brookings Instutition's 1935 report on the then two-year-old NRA delivered the *coup de grace* to this controversial industry-oriented attempt to correct the evils of the Depression. Bellush, history professor at the City University of New York, agrees with the report in its indictment of Roosevelt and his administration for the lack of direction which accelerated a drift toward monopoly. . . . Bellush's book is a painstaking, disillusioning account of the Blue Eagle period. . . ."–*Publishers Weekly* **/ History / Norton, 1975 / $8.95**

"They've Killed the President!": The Search for the Murderers of John F. Kennedy
By Robert Sam Anson

"The possibility that there actually were *murderers* nags at millions because of the questionable methods of the Warren Commission, the inconclusiveness of balistics tests, a botched autopsy. Anson, a political reporter for *New Times*, interprets the evidence, including recently available new material, as pointing to an assassination conspiracy; at the same time, however, he's too responsible to categorically make accusations . . . . Anson suspects the existence of three 'Oswalds,' that a 'plant' lived in the Soviet Union and married Marina, that Marina herself may be an agent. He calls attention to the problematical coincidences that surrounded the assassination; he examines the factions he sees as having motives: organized crime, Cuban exiles, the CIA. Yet proof of anything remains elusive. Anson's book, as readable and concerned as it is, is made up of intriguing parts that don't credibly add up . . . ." –*Publishers Weekly* **/ Contemporary History / Bantam, 1975 / $2.50 pb**

How to Protect Yourself from Crime
By Ira A. Lipman

"[Lipman's book] contains nothing dramatic or surprising about security, but if you adhere to its commonsense checklists, you'll make it much more difficult for a would-be thief or kidnapper to score on you, your business, or your family." –*Business Week* **/ Survival / Atheneum, 1975 / $9.95** ■

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PHILOSOPHY

Sentience

By Wallace I. Matson

Reviewed by Tibor R. Machan / University of California Press, 1975 / $7.95

This marvelous, fresh, meticulously argued and brightly composed book carries a quote from Gilbert Ryle on its cover in order to prepare the reader for it theme:

> Man need not be degraded to a machine by being denied to be a ghost in a machine. He might, after all, be a sort of animal, namely, a higher mammal. There has yet to be ventured the hazardous leap to the hypothesis that perhaps he is a man.

Once the fadishly sensitive among us get over the "sexist" overtones of this passage–having remembered what the words mean in the English language–the recommendation contained in Ryle's statement will surely seem worth a try. It is to the credit of Professor Matson that he embarks on proving the hypothesis with no apology to the mystics among us. Instead Matson sets out to show what after all should appear to us an eminently sensible notion about what we are, namely, material entities in material reality. Matson addresses himself to what should interest any thoughtful person: the question of what kind of entity a human being is. Surely we are material–we fall, we can be kicked, we are subject to the laws of physics, chemistry, and even mechanics. Surely, however, we are also different from many other material things–unlike stones, we experience pain; unlike plants, we move about quite freely at times; unlike apes and porpoises, we philosophize. So what are we?

A way of approaching this problem that has gained prominence in intellectual history involves a consideration of the idea that sensations are brain processes. On a common sense level the idea seems reasonable enough–a feeling one has, say of the saltiness of the soup at tonight's dinner, just could not exist without something going on in our body, very likely in that part of it where the sensory organs come together, namely in the brain. Yet this is a revolutionary idea to some, especially the tender-hearted who have visions that granting such a crass conception of even the simplest of human feelings must give way to an avalanche of reductionism. What next? Well, for one, our emotions may have to be construed as "mere" processes in our brains. And our thoughts, memories, fantasies, dreams, reasoning–yes, even the human mind itself–would then have to be construed as nothing more than epiphenomena of the brains we have in our bodies. Where is the glory in all this, where are we to put our ennobling conceptions about man's special place in nature?

> "Matson addresses himself to what should interest any thoughtful person: the question of what kind of entity a human being is."

And, of course, where would be spirit, soul, and–to verge on the blasphemous–where would it leave our supposed divine spark? Now that I have suggested where the simple notion that sensations are brain processes might lead us, I will simply add that the story is far more interesting than what my suggestion makes it appear.

But I will not spoil the story. Once in a while a book should be recommended, not reviewed at all, just as with certain mystery novels. I confine myself, therefore, to this, instead of embarking on what I will do elsewhere, namely a philosophical confrontation with Professor Matson on the topic of sentience. What will suffice for now is to offer a testimony.

Matson, a philosopher who not only knows a great deal of the history of philosophy and has produced some of the best thinking on philosophical topics in his previous articles and books–among them *The Existence of God* and *History of Philosophy*– is a superb prose writer. He is also a completely committed rationalist in the sense that he does not expect his readers to take him on faith about anything. (So where he must limit his exposition, he acknowledges that his position requires additional treatment.) His arguments are always fair, although he does not shy away from calling silliness just what it is, silliness.

Now if this will not entice you to embark on a fascinating yet relatively brief intellectual adventure, maybe you will find it more titillating that Matson handles such topics as the nature of private experiences, artificial intelligence, the mind/body relationship, freedom of the will, and the nature of values–all in a crisp and often dazzlingly intelligent manner.

Again, I do not wish to give anything away, for this book is somewhat of a mystery tour. What does Matson's materialism lead to concerning the nature of thought? Can machines think? Are we free? Are moral judgments meaningful?

Find out for yourself. I promise you a delightful and challenging journey. ■

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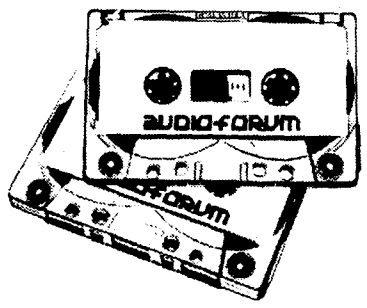

Baxter, Rene
TAX AVOIDANCE, POLITICAL FREEDOM, AND THE INVESTOR
(1976 Bicentennial Investment Seminar)

Rene Baxter's topic is the investor's political freedom, and how that freedom is violated by taxation. In keeping with the seminar's Bicentennial theme, Baxter's speech is a rousing call to arms for a second American Revolution. He outlines a number of methods being used by tax rebels to avoid paying taxes—with varying degrees of legality. Though he offers advice on how to survive economic crisis, Baxter disputes the prophets of gloom and doom, and explains why he is fundamentally optimistic about the future. Rene Baxter, a free-market economist and investment advisor, is a leader of the national tax revolt movement.

Tape #435 (67 min.) $10.50

Grinder, Walter E.
MONETARY MANIPULATION: ITS STRUCTURAL EFFECTS

Dr. Grinder discusses the effects of monetary policy on the economy. He shows how changes in the money supply affect interest rates and prices, and outlines the consequences of monetary misdirection in a mixed economy. A brief question-and-answer session followed this lecture at an American Geographical Society conference.

Tape #465 (25 min.) $8.95

Rothbard, Murray
HOW GOVERNMENT DESTROYS OUR MONEY

Dr. Rothbard contends that government policies are to blame for inflation. He explains how this occurs through the excessive printing of paper money and the operation of the banking system. Dr. Rothbard outlines the three stages of inflation, and gives a short summary of the abuses of money by various governments throughout history. This recording includes a question-and-answer session.

Tape #429 (59 min.) $9.95

MacBride, Roger L.
ROGER MacBRIDE DISCUSSES THE LIBERTARIAN PARTY PLATFORM

The 1976 Libertarian Party presidential candidate outlines the major areas of the LP's platform. MacBride discusses the LP's position on victimless crimes, foreign policy, and such domestic issues as inflation, taxation, pollution and the postal service.

Tape #446 (47 min.) $9.95

Null, Gary
HOW TO GET YOUR BEST SELLER PUBLISHED

When most people write a book, it never gets published and gathers dust. The reason is that most writers do not know *how* to sell to a publisher. This invaluable cassette shows you how to turn your manuscript into a best seller. You will learn how to attract a publisher's attention—*which* publishers to seek out—which to avoid—how to keep from being cheated—and how to receive your fair share of movie, magazine, paperback rights, etc.

Tape #458 (55 min.) $9.95

Block, Walter
MONEY, INFLATION AND THE BUSINESS CYCLE

Walter Block discusses the significance of money, its advantages over barter, and the necessary qualities of a monetary medium. He then turns his attention to the nature, cause and consequences of inflation, and answers arguments against the gold standard. Finally, he talks about the business cycle, contrasting the Keynesian "fine-tuning" approach with the Austrian School's theory of time preference.

Tape #430 (40 min.) $9.95

Branden, Nathaniel, Ph.D.
NEW LECTURES ON THE PSYCHOLOGY OF SELF-ESTEEM

Dr. Branden, a therapist practicing in Los Angeles, is the author of *The Psychology of Self-Esteem, Breaking Free,* and *The Disowned Self.* Now, he has created a series of lectures which substantially update and expand upon the material in those pathbreaking works. The content of this course goes well beyond the material presented in Dr. Branden's three books, and represents an integration of his most recent researches, studies, and findings.

Here are some of the highlights of this comprehensive presentation of Biocentric Psychology: The need, the motivating power, and the requirements of self-esteem—Self-esteem's relation to sex, productive work and human relationships—The need to understand yourself and other people—The psychology of man-woman relationships—The nature and source of emotion—Neurotic disorders: their meaning and cause—Principles of motivation—Emotional blocking—Disowning the self—Self-alienation and social alienation—Reason and emotion; A new interpretation—Self-awareness, self-acceptance, self-responsibility, self-assertion—Anxiety and depression—A critique of contemporary psychology: Psychoanalysis, Behaviorism, "Humanistic" Psychology—Biocentric Therapy: Its goals and techniques—Biocentric Therapy and the Objectivist Ethics.

Tape #621-640 (26 hrs.) $188.95

Rothbard, Murray
DEFLATION RECONSIDERED

Dr. Rothbard believes that the phenomenon of deflation deserves more attention. He outlines the reasons why deflation is preferable to inflation, and suggests that deflation would help resolve our present economic problems. A lecture delivered at an American Geographical Society conference.

Tape #464 (22 min.) $8.95

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SCIENCE FICTION

Healer

By F. Paul Wilson

Reviewed by Richard E. Geis / Doubleday, 1976 / $5.95

Healer by F. Paul Wilson is what is kindly called an interesting failure. It uses old, reliable science fiction elements: a man made virtually immortal by an alien in his brain who monitors his body and keeps him in top condition and even constructs/grows back-up organs, an immensely powerful insane alien psi menace from far across the galaxy, the intrusion of the State into private freedoms to the point of slavery (by another name) of the individual, advanced psi powers in the hero/alien gestalt, spacewarps for instant travel and communication, the spread of mankind into a large segment of the galaxy, a Federation of planets. Uses these elements unthinkingly, as a painted backdrop, with very little thought given to making them hang together.

Steven Dalt is the immortal. Note the name similarity to John Galt, hero of Ayn Rand's *Atlas Shrugged.*

Dalt, having been immortal for a few centuries, finds it necessary to establish yet another identity on another planet to mask his unending life. It is an era when the once mighty Federation of human colonized planets is moribund and the collectivist mentality is growing stronger (again, another cycle) and beginning to gain power and influence over the scattered culturally and economically diverse human systems.

Dalt takes a computer job on the ill-reputed libertarian planet Tolive, with the private enterprise Interstellar Medical Corps.

Here F. Paul Wilson uses his hero shamelessly, making him a wide-eyed, knee-jerk liberal fool in order to show-and-tell some of the Tolive libertarian life. Dalt is a man who has lived for centuries on a succession of different planets, doing a variety of jobs in a mixture of cultures and social levels—who is stunned that on Tolive there are no illegal books or drugs, who is appalled at carefully supervised public floggings, and who has apparently never outgrown his puritanical childhood.

> "*Healer* is a rather bad, routine science fiction novel with a small, fascinating taste of libertarian life."

This is sloppy, lazy writing.

More: the inner dialog between Dalt and his alien partner (named Pard) is too cute for comfort, and what is worse, this juvenile level of conversation remains unchanged over the centuries—awkward, simplistic, embarrassing.

On Tolive, Dalt learns he has exceptional psi powers (courtesy of Pard, mostly) and finds that he can heal by delving into minds—especially those of the victims of *the horrors,* an inexplicable, suddenly occuring fugue of fear and hallucinations that strikes people at random throughout mankind's area of the galaxy. *The horrors* is spreading, and Dalt becomes quickly known and revered as the Healer. He is a legend.

But, inevitably, after a time, the Healer must disappear. Dalt surfaces on a remote planet as an immensely rich recluse.

But then begin brief, savage raids on human populated planets by space-suited humanoids who use an advanced spacewarp portal. The raids become more frequent, more devastating. . .

And once again a single, superior man saves all mankind from extinction, and in this case also saves an alien race from its fate-worse-than-death. This is knee-jerk plotting: the old, reliable formula that, with unending repetition and variation, drives away the average reader of science fiction after a few years.

The brief glimpse of Tolive is tantalising and seems brutally edited. There is mention of a Contract with the planet (not with the government) required of all Tolive citizens, but nothing more is explained or shown. I suspect too much libertarianism would have (maybe did) strike the editors at Doubleday as "propaganda" and special pleading, out of place and out of proportion in the novel.

There is a quote on page 79 from Daniel Webster: "In every generation there are those who want to rule well—but they mean to rule. They promise to be good masters—but they mean to be masters." I like that. It reminds me of The Smiler who is now our president.

To sum up: *Healer* is a rather bad, routine science fiction novel with a small, fascinating taste of libertarian life. ■

Branden, Nathaniel, Ph.D.
HOW TO COMMUNICATE POLITICAL IDEAS

The noted psychologist and therapist addressed the 1976 Libertarian Party Convention on the techniques of political persuasion. Dr. Branden encouraged individuals to question their own motives for engaging in political conversion, and advised that they understand their case. Using anecdotes drawn from his own private and professional experiences, he described the problems one faces in grappling with the stands taken by others—and how one might attempt to persuade others in a *constructive* manner. A useful guide for personal communication on other levels also. His speech was followed by an informative question and answer session.
Tape #732 (55 min.) $9.95

Shenfield, Arthur, Ph.D.
CONSUMERISM: A REPLY TO NADER AND HIS RAIDERS

On this tape, Dr. Arthur Shenfield, a distinguished British economist, takes on Ralph Nader and his supporters in a brilliant, no-holds-barred assault. He not only answers the familiar complaints of the consumer protection movement, he also provides an eloquent defense of the free-market system. Dr. Shenfield is a former president of the Mont Pelerin Society, an international fraternity of free market economists and political scientists. He has had numerous posts in the British government and has been an economic adviser to several developing countries.
Tape #320 (116 min.) $12.50

Branden, Nathaniel, Ph.D.
LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: THERE' S A WORLD OUT THERE

In this penetrating critique of the Human Potential Movement, psychologist Nathaniel Branden contends that the movement's exclusive preoccupation with man's inner life creates the danger of failing to recognize the existence of an outside world. Dr. Branden's view of the Human Potential Movement is fundamentally positive, however, and he offers a constructive alternative to the "galloping subjectivism" he sees as dangerously endemic to modern psychology and psychotherapy. This talk was recorded at the Western Regional Conference of the Association of Humanistic Psychology. It is a provocative and stimulating address that is bound to create controversy.
Tape #588 (49 min.) $9.95

Wollstein, Jarret
THE MYTH OF MONOPOLY POWER

Wollstein examines the history and economics of monopoly power in the U.S. He demonstrates with historical examples that economic concentration existed only when firms were efficient, innovative, and charged lower prices than their competitors. He also explains why the concept of a monopoly price is a myth, and why the monopolist has only the same kind of economic power as any other businessman. Wollstein concludes that breaking up large firms in the free market destroys economic freedom and harms consumers. An informative cassette on a widely debated issue.
Tape #264 (32 min.) $9.95

Lachman, Ludwig M.
HIDDEN ASPECTS OF TODAY' S INFLATION

Dr. Lachmann discusses inflation's psychological dimension, its distributional effects, its geographical aspects, and its relation to capital erosion. A question-and-answer period followed his presentation at an American Geographical Society conference. Ludwig Lachmann is a visiting professor of economics at New York University.
Tape #461 (34 min.) $9.95

Liggio, Leonard
AMERICAN CORPORATE STATE' S FOREIGN POLICY

In a speech at the conference on "Who Rules America?," Liggio asserts that the commodity of petroleum has had more effect on the shaping of U.S. foreign policy than any other single factor in this century. He traces "oil diplomacy" from its origins to the present day.
Tape #424 (46 min.) $9.95

Smith, Jerome
SMITH INTERVIEWED BY CHARLES CURLEY

Jerome Smith, an economic writer who once employed Harry Browne, discusses the prospects for gold and silver. Smith places his predictions into a larger framework, which includes analyses of government policies and their effects, the monetary and fiscal situation, and the consequences of "future shock." New York-area listeners will be particularly intrigued by the fact that Smith's predictions on this tape regarding New York's fiscal crisis (recorded in November, 1975) have already come true almost word-for-word. Smith led the way into silver in the late 1960s, and remains bullish on the metal. He tells why he expects silver to rise to $20-an-ounce levels.
Tape #413 (85 min.) $10.95

Bock, Alan, Karl Hess, E. Scott Royce, Peter Breggin, Charles Morgan, and Murray Rothbard
THE "STATE" OF OUR UNION?

An alternative "State of the Union" event was sponsored by libertarians to announce the formation of the Libertarian Advocate. The director, Alan Bock, explained the purpose of this new special interest lobby in Washington: lobbying for freedom. Karl Hess contributed with a witty commentary on the current political scene. Royce provided a review of U.S. foreign policy; Peter Breggin discussed the use of psychiatric treatment as a tool of oppression; Charles Morgan (formerly with the ACLU) described the growing danger of governmental and presidential secrecy; and Murray Rothbard offered a reply to President Ford's State of the Union Address. An event with a serious theme, but not without good humor.
Tape #420 (107 min.) $12.50

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Libertarian Cross-Currents

By Walter E. Grinder

As a movement, libertarianism has a long way to go before it reaches maturity. There have, however, been some significant advances made during this past year, and I would like to use the space in this month's column to take stock of where we are, and where we are going.

As I've said elsewhere, I have never been much of a Libertarian Party fan—that is until the most recent campaign. The MacBride campaign and all the state and local campaigns that went along with it were successful beyond my wildest imagination. I'm not thinking of just the 180,000 or so votes, but the success in *getting libertarianism known to literally millions of* people who heretofore had not even heard of a consistent libertarian point of view. I think that MacBride's tripartite theme of libertarianism in civil liberties, economics, and foreign policy was a stroke of genius, although I wish that he had been even firmer in the area of foreign policy.

We need much more of this kind of broad-based approach. Other effective mass appeals were found in Murray N. Rothbard's interview in the October *Penthouse* and James Dale Davidson's award-winning *Playboy* article on tax resistance and the IRS.

As important as a political campaign is for effective introductory education and organizing, we must remember that the attention of Americans can be caught for broad political-ideological purposes only once every four years. I don't want to underestimate the importance of local issues in local elections, because they are important for organizing local constituencies. These local issues are, however, not capable of capturing the attention and imagination of the many people necessary to get across a sustained and comprehensive ideological message. The Libertarian Party can do a great deal to get ready for the 1980 campaign, but we cannot expect the party to be an effective tool of mass education until the next presidential campaign.

Clearly, other vehicles are necessary. Fortunately this past year has seen the emergence of parallel institutions that can serve this important function.

The heart and soul of libertarianism is its ideas. Nurturing and training those who can effectively convey these ideas is the single most important task confronting the movement. For when we get right down to it, *ideas are the key to social change.* But ideas do not move mysteriously through a vacuum. They must be learned, refined, and carried by intellectuals (those who deal with ideas on all levels). We will not build a libertarian movement, we cannot win any significant victories for liberty until we have built up a large and articulate cadre of intellectuals (professors, teachers, writers, lecturers, journalists, conversationalists, et cetera).

The most significant new parallel institutions that are now serving this purpose are the **Center for Libertarian Studies** (200 Park Avenue South, Suite 911, New York, NY 10003) and the **Cato Institute** (Box 2256, Wichita, KS 67201).

The Center began only a year ago with virtually no funds, but with a clear ideological and strategic purpose. In its first year the Center has come a long way. It has among its Board of Directors and Board of Advisors the following: Yale Brozen, Arthur A. Ekirch, Williamson Evers, Antony Flew, R. Dale Grinder, Charles Hamilton, Mrs. F. A. Harper, Henry Hazlitt, F. A. Hayek, John Jospers, Robert D. Kephart, Ludwig M. Lachmann, Leonard P. Liggio, James J. Martin, Mrs. Ludwig von Mises, Felix Morley, Robert A. Nisbet, Robert Nozick, Ralph Raico, Earl C. Ravenal, Murray N. Rothbard, James A. Sadowsky, Louis M. Spadaro, and Thomas Szasz. The officers are John Hagel III, president; Jospeh R. Peden, vice-president, Walter E. Grinder, secretary and executive director, and Walter Block, treasurer.

The Center has a contract with **Pergamon Press** for its new academic publication, *The Journal of Libertarian Studies.* The *JLS* is edited by Murray N. Rothbard. Included in the first two issues, among other articles, are the following: "Toward a Reformation of the Law of Contracts" by Williamson M. Evers, "Robert Nozick and the Immaculate Conception of the State" by M. N. Rothbard, "Toward a Theory of State Capitalism: Ultimate Decision-Making and Class Structure" by Walter E. Grinder and John Hagel III, ""Property Rights in Celtic Irish Law" by J. R. Peden, "Comments about the Mathematical Treatment of Economic Problems" by Ludwig von Mises (never published in English), "Coase and Demsetz on Private Property Rights" by Walter Block, "Order without

AN AFTERWORD FROM Readers, Authors, Reviewers

"A Selective Freedom"

Reginald Bretnor's belief that the rights and "powers" of citizenship should be taken away from "irresponsible" individuals is the tip of the right-wing statist's iceberg. "Responsibility," of course, would have to be defined by the state; that is, by people in power. [See " 'Gun Control' and the Free Citizen," *LR*, Sep.-Oct.'76.]

Historically, there are many abominable examples of what happens when the people in power decide who is responsible and who isn't. Women were considered to be incapable of voting responsibly until a paltry fifty years ago. Blacks were deliberately disenfranchised after the Civil War—not on the basis of race, but by means of economic criteria and literacy tests—so-called objective tests that Mr. Bretnor would perhaps approve of.

The implications here are antilibertarian in so fundamental a way that I am amazed that I even need to discuss them in a libertarian publication. The state is the legalized use of force. To deprive people of citizenship is to leave them without a voice in the affairs of the state. Now, people who are unrepresented in government have a nasty habit of being oppressed and exploited by that very institution. Thus, to deprive people—responsible or not—of the powers of citizenship is to deprive them of the right of self defense in a way more basic than the prohibition of guns itself.

It is predictable that Bretnor would berate the ACLU for its work in protecting the rights of the accused. But his attempt to dig up a libertarian-sounding reason for this leads to bizarre results The ACLU has an "authoritarian" concept of government, he says, because their adversary concept of government reveals "the memory of czars and commissars, serfdom and subjection, pogroms, summary seizures, and arbitrary judgements without appeal." And indeed it does— let's hope we never forget these things! Surely even Bretnor knows that they have happened right here in the United States. And the only reason we don't have arbitrary judgment and summary seizures more often here is because the adversary concept of the relation between government and the governed has led to procedural safeguards for the accused.

But like all right wingers who seek a selective freedom (for themselves), Bretnor defeats himself by contradiction. He starts out with the correct assumption that government is an instrumentality to which people delegate certain powers that they *already have as individuals.* In the next paragraph, he contradicts this. "Full citizenship was not," he says, "something granted automatically to anybody who could grunt and get in line for a handout," thus implying that citizenship is a kind of handout, or "grant" of powers. He speaks of "qualifying" for the right to vote, as if the franchise were a special power above and beyond what all individuals possess already. He speaks of the "powers" of citizenship being "given" to "millions of irresponsibles." Thus, in the last analysis, it is Bretnor, not just the "left-leaning liberals," who believes that the "powers we once delegated to government now belong to *it* and *not to us,*" to use his own words.

Liberals tell us that only policemen can be trusted with guns; Bretnor tells us that only good, solid, upper-class citizens can be trusted with the vote. What's the difference?

Our commitment to individual rights may ally us with people like Bretnor on one particular issue. That does *not* mean we have to accept or help spread the reactionary and antilibertarian views associated with him. Indeed, that people like Bretnor have been considered advocates of freedom is probably the major reason why the cause has faltered for so many years. If libertarians allow this kind of right-wing statism to ride along on our bandwagon, we, too, will lose because of it.

MILTON MUELLER
Chicago, Ill.

Bretnor Replies

Mr. Mueller's peroration opens with an outright misstatement of face when he refers to my alleged "belief that the rights and 'powers' of citizenship should be taken away from 'irresponsible' individuals." I said nothing about the restriction of passive rights, *of those rights which pertain only to one's own well-being and destiny, but of course I did question the wisdom of allowing the irresponsible to exercise, perilously, powers that can decide the destinies of their fellow men.*

Without some degree of intellectual and interpersonal responsibility, no viable society or culture can flourish, and—perhaps unfortunately—there must be some standard against which this repsonsibility can be measured. Such standards, in the past, have generally been cultural developments, often unfair, sometimes inhumane, but usually with a survival value for the community. Perhaps in the furure more idealistic and more scientific ways can be found by which to determine them. They will be imperfect, certainly, as man is imperfect, but with all their imperfections they will still be necessary. To deny this is simply to assert that everyone has to be free to "do his own thing" no matter what.

Mr. Mueller speaks as a declared Libertarian, but his frames of reference, as revealed by his distortions of what I had to say and by his choice of epithets, seem to be the familiar fuzzy ones of Left-leaning Liberalism. His inability to understand what I wrote and meant is, I imagine, due to the fact that certain meanings and concepts simply are not contained in those frames—hence such absurdities as his statement that "Bretnor tells us that only good, solid, upper-class citizens can be trusted with the vote," which I did not *say. He seems to be constrained by an inflexible map of causes and effects, and to be inflicting it on a terrain to which it does not correspond.*

As his central argument appears to reduce Libertarianism to a mindless advocacy of anarchy, it is pointless for me to attempt any further explication or discussion.

REGINALD BRETNOR
Medford, Ore.

"Major Misunderstanding"

Bill McIlhany's review (September/October 1976) on my *Punishing Criminals: Concerning a Very Old and Painful Question* was generous, for which I am thankful, but also replete with major misunderstandings, most of which I do not think I can take the space to correct. One, however, goes too far.

Mr. McIlhany implies that I accept "today's senseless jargon of 'one's debt to society' " and adds, "van den Haag is rather hostile to retribution as uncivilized vengeance." Actually, I am in favor of retribution and explain (in a section titled "Retribution and Vengeance" that retribution has nothing to do with vengeance, but instead with promise keeping and that the motive of vengeance, whether or not present, has no logical connection with the intention of retribution. (A and B may have different motives for the same intention of killing C.) I also make it clear that the justification for threats is utilitarian, for punishments retributive—they must be deserved by guilt. Further, the first chapter contains a section ("A Debt Owed by or to Society?") in which I reject the theory that the criminal owes a debt to society. I also unmistakably favor restitution by offenders to injured individuals, in a section headed "Restitution."

ERNEST VAN DEN HAAG
New York, N.Y.

McIlhany Replies

I will comment briefly on the "major misunderstanding" Professor van den Haag kindly specified in his letter. The complete sentence in my review from which he excerpted his quotes reads: "The author pays little or no attention to a perspective of inherent transactional jus-

Letters from readers are welcome. Although only a selection can be published and none can be individually acknowledged, each will receive editorial consideration and may be passed on to reviewers and authors. Letters submitted for publication should be brief, typed, double spaced, and sent to LR, *901 N. Washington St., Alexandria, VA 22314.*

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Law: Where Will the Anarchists Keep the Madmen?" by John D. Sneed. The first issue of the *JLS* will be out in February.

The Center's newsletter, *In Pursuit of Liberty*, is a publication devoted to movement academic news and an update on Center activities. Profiles of great libertarians are a regular feature. Thus far, features on Felix Morley, Henry Hazlitt, and F. A. Hayek have appeared.

The Center holds an annual Libertarian Scholars Conference, which brings together some of the very best young libertarian intellectuals. The LSC gives these young scholars both a forum to deliver their research papers and a chance to learn what other libertarian scholars are doing. This year's conference (the fourth) was held at New York's Waldorf Astoria Hotel in late October. It was one of the best yet. Among others, these topics were discussed: "On Robert Nisbet's *Twilight of Authority*," papers by John McCarthy and Leonard P. Liggio, comments by Joseph R. Peden and Robert Nisbet; "The Foundations of Libertarian Legal Theory," papers by Williamson Evers and Randy E. Barnett, comments by Murray N. Rothbard, Roy A. Childs, Lyla O'Driscoll, and Jeffrey Paul; "An Historical Inquiry into Nineteenth Century Libertarian Social Analysis," papers by Mark Weinburg and David Osterfeld, comments by Leonard P. Liggio and Joseph T. Salerno; Liability, Economics and the Law Two Problems: Pollution and Bankruptcy," papers by R. Dale Grinder and Lawrence H. White, comments by William Beach and Walter Block; "An Analysis of the 'Southern Rim' Thesis," papers by Jonathan Marshall and John Hagel III, comments by G. William Domhoff and Larry Shoup. The banquet speaker was sociologist G. William Domhoff, who spoke on "The Current State of Social Analysis in the United States."

The Center has commissioned a major project by Professor Earl C. Ravenal of the School of Advanced International Studies at Johns Hopkins University. The title of the study is *A Non-Interventionist Foreign Policy*. It is due to be finished by early summer.

Two CLS Occasional Papers are very close to publication. First is Lawrence H. White's "The Methodology of the Austrian School of Economics." The second is J. Huston McCulloch's translation of "The Production of Security," a classic free market study by Gustave de Molinari.

On 4-6 March 1977 at Harvard Law School, the Center will conduct a symposium on "Crime and Punishment: Restitution, Retribution and Law." Like this year's Libertarian Scholars Conference, this symposium is being sponsored by the **Liberty Fund.** This is the first systematic libertarian analysis of the current legal paradigm. This conference will include: "Psychiatric Diversion in the Criminal Justice System: A Critique" by Thomas Szasz; a roundtable discussion on "The Crisis in the Criminal Justice System: Examination of Causes and Consequences," with Alan Dershowitz, Edward C. Banfield, Richard Epstein, Burt Galaway, Leonard P. Liggio, Murray N. Rothbard, Thomas Szasz and James Q. Wilson; "Time Preference and Crime," papers by Edward C. Banfield and Gerald P. O'Driscoll, comment by Mario Rizzo; "Retribution: The Ethics of Punishment," papers by Walter Kaufmann and John Hospers, comments by Murray N. Rothbard and Davis Kuber; "Restitution as an Alternative to Punishment," papers by Richard Epstein and Burt Galaway, comments by Randy E. Barnett and Williamson Evers; and "Some Treatments of Crime in History," papers by Ronald Hamowy and Leonard P. Liggio, comments by James J. Martin. The banquet address will be "Towards a Re-Ordering of Priorities in the Criminal Justice System" by James Q. Wilson.

Most of the plans for the fifth Libertarian Scholars Conference to be held next October have been made, and it is sure to be at least as productive and stimulating as those of the past.

The Center is doing surprisingly well with its fundraising efforts. So well, in fact, that it has been able to move into a new headquarters. There are five offices and a large library conference room which is being used for seminars and conferences. The Center now has a full-time staff of four, including its first full-time research associate. The Center has, indeed, become a libertarian "think tank."

Cato Institute is a public policy research and information distribution institute. Cato was formerly the **Charles Koch Foundation,** based in Wichita, Kansas. It will continue to maintain offices in Wichita, but its headquarters will be in San Francisco. It will also maintain an office in New York, which it will share with the Center for Libertarian Studies. Edward H. Crane III, past national director of the Libertarian Party is Cato's president and executive director. Cato will continue to sponsor conferences, seminars, and publications, and it will begin a Cato Fellows program. Cato's key contribution in the past has been its underwriting of a series of Austrian economics seminars and conferences. Due in large part to Cato's support, Austrian economics has made a fantastic resurgence during the past several years. The most exciting project that Cato is about to undertake is the publication of a new monthly magazine, which will be modeled after the *Nation*. That is, it will be devoted to analysis of and comment on contemporary issues as well as investigative journalism. The edtior will be Williamson Evers, the brilliant libertarian theoretician at Stanford University. In addition to Evers, Ralph Raico, one of the movement's very best writers and academics, will take a position on the staff as senior editor. The two, along with Ed Crane, are already putting together a staff and working on building circulation. The magazine as yet remains nameless. The importance of a periodical that will comment on the current domestic and foreign scene from a libertarian perspective is impossible to overestimate.

Cato will work closely with the Center for Libertarian Studies. Their combined and complementary output will rival—if not in quantity at least in quality—that of the American Enterprise Institute on the right, the Brookings Institution in the liberal center, and the Institute for Policy Studies on the left. Hopefully, their influence will also soon rival these other ideological "think tanks." The Center will concentrate more on academic matters and Cato on public-policy issues.

Building a movement is a long and many-leveled process. For a movement to be successful, it absolutely must be grounded on a firm ideological foundation. The emergence of the Center and Cato takes us a long way toward building that foundation. ■

tice between the criminal and his victim as an alternative to today's senseless jargon of 'one's debt to soceity,' and van den Haag is rather hostile to retribution as uncivilized vengeance." I do not believe I said there that Professor van den Haag advocated or accepted *the notion of "one's debt to society," which he* does *criticize for sound reasons. I am sorry that he misread my sentence and assumed I was accrediting to him the popular myth which has thrived in the absence of any popular revival of natural law and rights theory.*

My complaint was not sufficiently directed at principles of natural law logically derived from the objective facts of human nature. In the absence of such a focus, he seemed to me (pp. 11-12) to be falling back on something he described, but did not define, as "a transpersonal social order" as the protective basis of retributive punishment. And from what I consider to be a rational natural law perspective, the source of justice is exclusively personal: the measure of the harm done to the victim is the degree to which the criminal has forfeited his right to commensurate values and should justly relinquish them in a manner appropriate to each individual case.

Because he places the justification for punishment in such an undefined social context, Professor van den Haag equates an individual's act of retribution with what he describes most unfavorably as "self-serving vengeance" (p. 10). Apart from the fact that retributive acts are only just if commensurate to the harm actually done, I fail to see the strength of the distinction which he here tries to make, since it is only on the basis of an individual's right to do so for himself that the state as an agent for him practices retribution, and because the criminal, having virtually "given up claim" to his values and rights to the degree he harmed another, is just as fairly deprived of them by his victim, another individual, or those individuals who comprise the state, acting as an agency for the victim.

BILL MC ILHANY
Newport Beach, Calif.

"Two Steps Backward"

With the publication of Adam Reed's review of five "Holocaust" books in the May-June issue, *LR* took two steps backwards in the quest for a better understanding of alleged war-time atrocities.

One of my first personal experiences which brought the charge of deliberate murder of Jews on the part of Hitler & Crew into question was when I obtained two editions of *Polish Acts of Atrocity Against the German Minority in Poland.* published by the German Foreign Office in 1939 and 1940, they include a large number of photographs of Germans said to have been killed by Poles before and after the outbreak of hostilities. I have since seen some of the identical pictures in "Holocaust books" with captions claiming that they are Warsaw Ghetto victims, Einsatzgruppen atrocities, etc.

LR would have done its readers a service if it had included a review of some of the books which have reexamined the Six Million claim in the light of new evidence and with the application of logical analysis. For example, a member of the French Resistance who spent the last three years of the war as an inmate of Buchenwald and Dora, Prof. Paul Rassinier, saw no evidence of mass killings of Jews at those camps. Following the war he devoted much time to an investigation of these charges, and in *The Drama of the European Jews* (Steppingstones Publications, Box 612, Silver Spring, MD 20901, $3) and other volumes, found that no systematic program of extermination of Jews had existed under the Nazis and that most of the people who perished in the camps did so toward the end of the war when the German transportation system broke down, leading to near starvation conditions and the outbreak of disease, such a typhoid.

Another contrary witness is Thies Christopherson, a botonist who worked at the agronomy laboratory located at the Auschwitz camp, where two to four million Jews are said to have been gassed and their bodies burned in huge ovens. Christopherson, in *Auschwitz: Truth or Lie* (English & German eds., Samisdat Publications, 206 Carlton St., Toronto, Ont., Canada, $1) relates that he saw no executions or gas chambers, pointing out that Auschwitz-Birkenau was an industrial center, not a death factory, and that the stench in the air was from the synthetic rubber plant, not burning corpses.

The latest and most thorough study of the extermination question is the work of a Northwestern University professor of engineering, Dr. A.R. Butz, whose *Hoax of the Twentieth Century* (Historical Review Press, 23 Ellerker Gardens, Richmond TW10 6AA, England, $6) shows what really did happen in the concentration camps and how the genocide legend got started in the first place. Butz' careful research examines the books reviewed by Reed and demonstrates why they are suspect.

In sum, the review published by *LR* would have done credit to William L. Shirer. To *LR* readers it has served to perpetuate the extermination story which has been used to help obscure the actual origins of the war. The Israelis have also employed the genocide tale to mask their own imperialistic policies toward the Palestinian Arabs, who have been dispossed from their lands by the Zionists.

LR readers should expect more from the editors.

WAYNE C. LUTTON
Assistant Professor of History
American Christian College
Tulsa, Okla.

"Nothing More Than a Slur"

The letter from Erwin S. Strauss in the September/October issue seems unworthy of him, or indeed of any libertarian. To criticize the validity of political action, or the LP itself, or any of its acts is possible and proper. But Strauss' letter is nothing more than a slur.

First, Strauss says that "Roger MacBride and the LP hierarchy are basically Republicans . . . who turned to the LP only after failing to make waves in the Republican Party," and adds a description of them as "political hacks who couldn't 'hack it' in the Republican Party." The general tone of the letter is that these people are not libertarians. Now I had always thought that the libertarian ethic was, in its most basic form, opposition to coercion. I have never seen or heard of MacBride or any of the other people who Strauss doesn't name advocate it. Indeed, their guiding word has been "principle."

Second, Strauss does not consider the structure of the government. The president is required to "take care that the laws be faithfully executed." Unless Congress also had a libertarian majority, the congressmen would see this as a direct threat to their pockets, and, quite properly, impeach the president for violation of his trust. If Congress did have a libertarian majority, of course, the tax laws would certainly be changed. But *no* president could openly proclaim that he would not enforce the laws and hope to survive.

Third, if Strauss had wanted to seriously suggest a course of action to the LP, he should have left out the insults, and vice versa. Either could stand alone, but combining them implies that one or the other is not meant to be taken seriously.

I have met "Filthy Pierre" Strauss at science fiction conventions several times in the past two years. He impressed me as being rational, benevolent, and fair-minded. To say what he said is beneath him.

JOSEPH T. MAJOR
Hopkinsville, Ky.

"A Generous and Discriminating Appraisement"

Thank you for sending me a copy of the review of my *Reason and Belief* by John Hospers [*LR*, Sep.-Oct. '76]. it was a generous and discriminating appraisement which I greatly appreciate.

BRAND BLANSHARD
New Haven, Conn.

(Continued on page 22)

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An Afterword. . . *(Continued from page 21)*

Kudos–

Libertarian Review is my idea of a publication! I know of no other that does what it does–and I feel you and the editorial board deserve a perfect chorus of huzzahs! There are many of us out here who hunger and thirst for what you provide! Keep it up!

I want especially to say thank you for Reginald Bretnor's articles. The man has a mind like a steel trap, and he focuses unerringly on the fallacies of our modern times. For his articles alone I would send gift subscriptions to all my friends–only my means are limited (in other words, the government has made it impossible to indulge in many luxuries!). I must content myself with clipping his words and sending them in letters to one friend who, I know, reads with attention.

Because I am no longer young, I lack a kind of spiritual resiliency, so I cannot believe that the Libertarian Party can ever be a force in this poor beleagured country of ours. I wish it could!

The platform on which Roger MacBride is running is *exactly* what I think a party platform should be. (I sent out a copy of it to a friend who is a conservative, and to another who is a liberal–and they were *both* impressed!)

As I said, do keep it up! Libertarians are truly voices crying in the wilderness–but they can be insistent voices, and disturbing.

MRS. DAVID HAMBLEN, III
Newton, Mass.

And, on the Other Hand . . .

I feel your magazine leaves much to be desired. Let me explain. I have seen Roger MacBride on "Firing Line," and have read his book, *A New Dawn for America.* I have spoken briefly with Bob Meier and Ed Crane. These gentlemen strike me as being intelligent and reasonable. Because of their positions of leadership in the Libertarian Party, I presume that their posture is representative of the party.

I do not consider the tone of your magazine to be intelligent and reasonable, however. Most of your contributors impress me as being paranoic evangelists who are more concerned with spreading the word that we are all being persecuted by the government than with discussing ways in which we can all improve our lifestyle and contentment regardless of who is in office. I believe that libertarianism will grow with the awareness that each of us has the ability to better himself without government asistance. Libertarianism has no future if it is primarily a springboard for pie-in-the-sky anarchists.

May I suggest that in the future your magazine be more devoted to social essays of thought-provoking substance (such as Reginald Bretnor's piece in the July-August issue), and less devoted to book reviews (many of which give the reader the impression that the reviewer has a bone to pick with some author none of us has ever heard of before).

If libertarianism grows as a philosophy of realistic and pragmatic doers, then Roger MacBride will get my vote. But if you people are just another bunch o whiners and pseudo-intellectual compainers, then, gentlemen, I just don't have time to listen.

RUSSELL F. MOON, JR.

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